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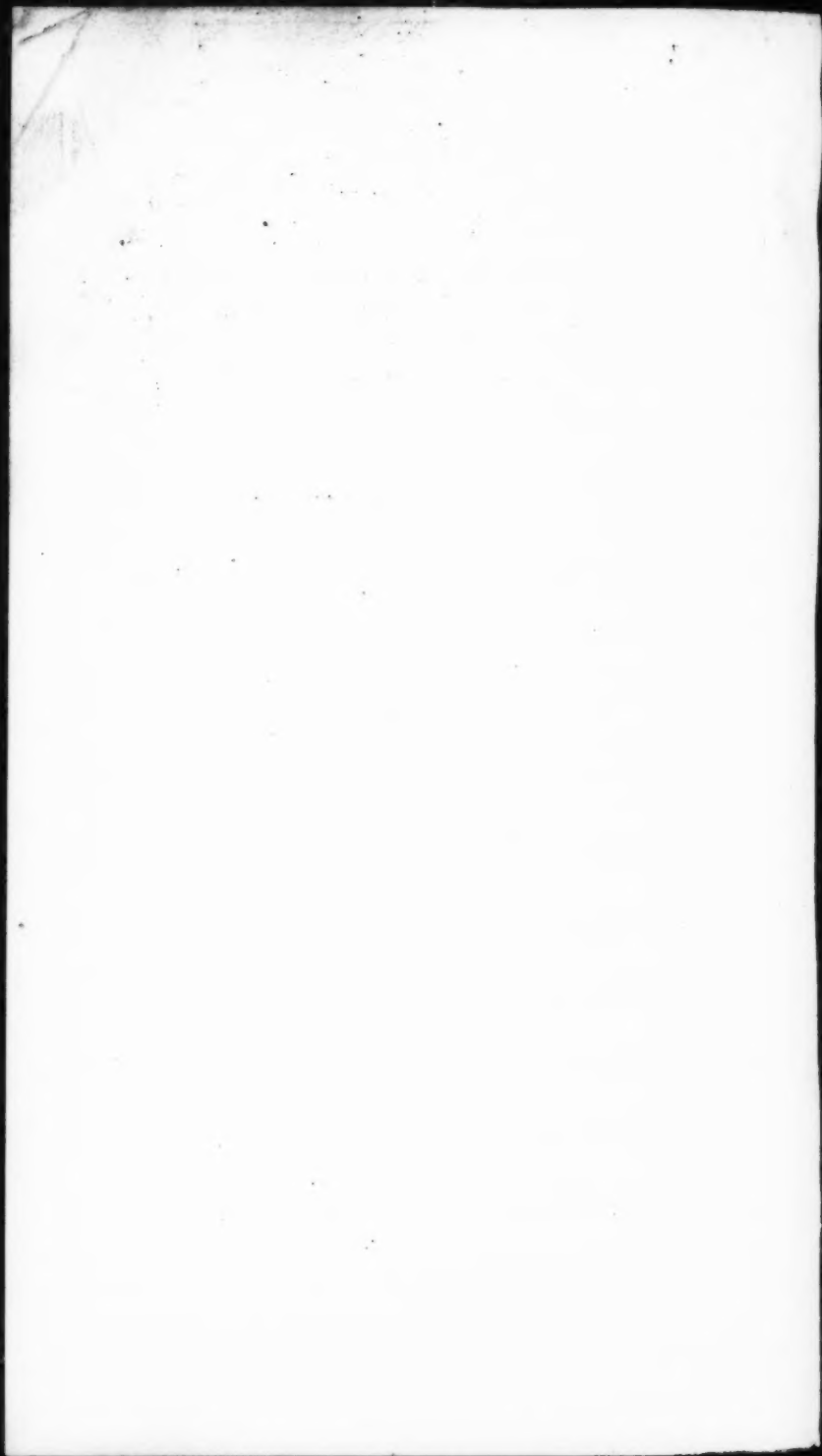
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## CONTENTS.

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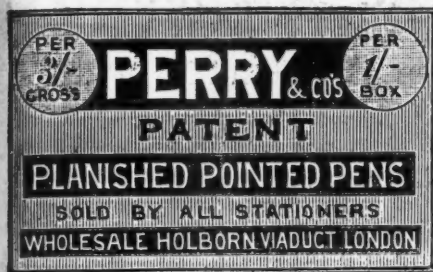
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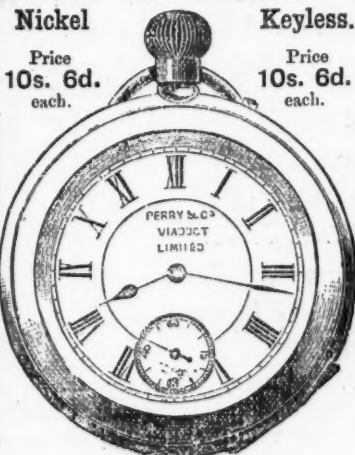
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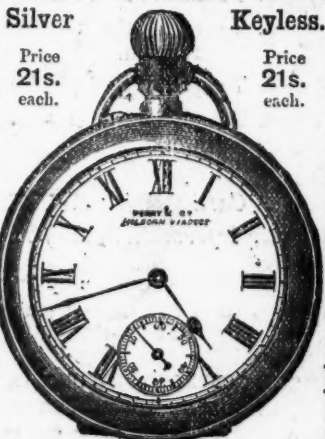


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# CONTENTS.

ART. I.—MR. JOHN MORLEY . . . . .	PAGE 1
-----------------------------------	-----------

Suitableness of the occasion for considering Mr. Morley as a teacher—He is distinguished by the depth and sincerity of his faith: what is that faith?—It shall be attempted here to answer in his own words—His dogma is “the Revolution;” to him “*Révolution, Révelation*”—His thoroughness in applying Revolutionary principles and maxims—Bitterness of his language against clergy and Church and Christ Himself—His Positivist creed, chiefly negative: the existence of God “an insoluble question:” the soul “only a function of the body”—The new ethic based on negations also; no hereafter; free-will unmeaning—Mr. Morley’s illogical conclusions: and the evil consequences of his “moral” teaching—The great work of the Revolution, now, is to banish religion from primary education: Mr. Morley’s sentiments thereon.

ART. II.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA—TANJORE	30
--	----

Tanjore one of the, if not the, oldest Protestant Mission in India; we may expect to see results, here, at the best advantage—Sketch of Swartz’s life and missionary success: Macaulay’s witness to the state of the Tanjore mission thirty years after his death—Present (not improved) condition of the mission, gathered from recent Reports—Real sources of weakness in this mission: “divided against itself” as to doctrines; and the “paying system”—A summary of results in the word “decay.”

ART. III.—THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE . . . . .	45
--	----

Introduction—Theory of the English Constitution: Montesquieu, Blackstone—Practice: History of changes in the practice of the Constitution since the Revolution—Comparison between the English Constitution and (1) the American Constitution, and (2) Colonial Constitutions—Concluding remarks on Home Rule and Federation.

## ART. IV.—SHAKESPEARE AS AN ECONOMIST . . . . . 57

Literature for many has taken the place of religion; fortunately English literature has Shakespeare, generally (as to religion, ethics, &c.) an authority on the right side—In the field of economics he is a Christian economist—This proved from his writings, 1. As to the relations of parents and children and on marriage—As to the position contrast between the poet and George Eliot—2. As to the relations of the upper to lower classes, of masters and rich to servants and poor—His sympathy with the poor and horror of oppression—We may know what would have been his opinion on the economical anarchy of our time and country.

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Importance of tracing the inner history of faithful monastic observance—Some prefatory remarks on the Fort Augustus edition of the Rule, and on the age and value of the various codices of the Rule—Present attempt is to trace some usages of Benedictine life, not later than the twelfth century—The “disposition of hours:” the precise time of Matins and the other “hours,” also of Mass and Dinner—The ancient habit, as to its material, colour, and various parts—Uniform custom in building the Monasteries—Monastic fare.

## ART. VI.—THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA . . . . . 98

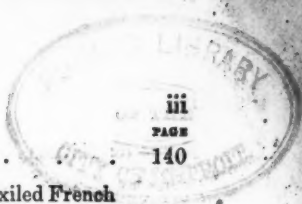
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## ART. VII.—THE INFLUENCE OF FATALISM ON OPINION . . . 125

Carlyle deplored the “mechanism of the age:” it has now grown into Fatalism: evidences of this in general loss of grit and fibre and tendency to drift in all political parties—and growing helplessness before “Public Opinion”—Illustrative extracts from Mr. Lowell, Mr. John Morley, Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone: unworthy views of statesmanship—School of History tinged with this fatalism: Buckle, Macaulay—More recent instances of fatalism in formation of opinion—Political necessity a current delusion.



## Contents.



### ART. VIII.—THE STORY OF THE FRENCH EXILES . . . . . 140

Value of Canon Plasse's recent book on the Exiled French Clergy: previous silence of historians as to England's generosity—The story of the expulsion: reception of the Exiles in England: Committees of relief—Subscriptions; a national collection; Government grant; private gifts—Houses allotted by Government as residences; erection of French chapels—Gratitude of the Exiles—Lesson taught by these volumes.

### ART. IX.—THE LOST, STRAYED AND STOLEN OF OUR CATHOLIC POOR CHILDREN . . . . . 157

Ubiquity of Street Arabs: magnanimous efforts of philanthropy; Homes and Refuges—Recent disclosures show that under cloak of philanthropy, proselytism is being carried on—Revelations of this kind shown from census taken in Manchester and Salford; extent of danger to children's religion from the irreligion or carelessness of parents—They are recruiting material for Bird's-nest Homes, &c.: sketch of work of proselytizing going on in Manchester: some "Cases" illustrating various phases of procedure—Emigration as a means of proselytism—What is to be done to save the children?

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### NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION . . . . . 188

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	PAGE
NOTES ON NOVELS . . . . .	197
The Princess Casamassima—The Old Order Changes—A Modern Telemachus—Lady Branksmere—A Northern Lily—Neæra—Sir Percival—For the Old Land.	
NOTICES OF CATHOLIC CONTINENTAL PERIODICALS . . . . .	202
La Controverse—Stimmen aus Maria Laach—Historisch- politische Blätter—Historisches Jahrbuch—Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie—Civiltà Cattolica.	
NOTICES OF BOOKS . . . . .	211
Mr. Healy Thompson's Life of Père Muard—Cardinal Allen's Souls Departed—Rev. M. Canty's Purgatory —History of St. Margaret's, Edinburgh—Father Guy's Synods in English—Dr. Philip Sweeny's Controversial Letters—Father Humphrey's Bible and Belief, Spouses of the King, and Christian Marriage—Dr. Hüffer's St. Bernard—Bishop of Newport's Christian Priesthood— Hurter's Nomenclator Literarius—Cereemoniale Episco- porum—Annales Minorum—St. Augustine—Dr. Cun- ningham's St. Austin—Dr. P. Schaff's Augustine, Melancthon, and Neander—Dr. Travers Smith's Man's Knowledge of God and Man—Costa Rosetti's Philosophia Moralis—Tornatore's Expositio and De Humana Cog- nitione—Dr. Allegre on Matrimonial Impediments— Lehmkuhl's Theology—Father Ehrle's Works of Aris- totle—Regestum Clementis V.—Thayer's Edition of Grimm's N.T. Lexicon—Fabiola, Illustrated—Gneist's English Parliament—Pictorial Bible—De Courcy's Coalition de 1701—The Catholic Directory, 1887— Miss Atteridge's Foremost if I can.	
BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING . . . . .	239
RECORD OF ROMAN DOCUMENTS ( <i>at the end</i> ).	

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JANUARY, 1887.

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ART. I.—MR. JOHN MORLEY.

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To grow there, and to bear.

He is well aware, as he has told us in his book on "Compromise," † that "it is not easy to wind an Englishman up to the level of dogma." But that is his avowed end. And he has displayed quite remarkable astuteness in his choice of means.

What, then, is the dogma which Mr. Morley has embraced, and which he desires to recommend to his countrymen? It is, in fact, the way of thinking about human life and its conditions which the French emphatically express by the words "The Revolution." Mr. Morley observes, very truly: "The greatest problem that ever dawns upon any human intelligence that has the privilege of discerning it, is the problem of a philosophy and a body of doctrine:" ‡ because that problem really embraces all other problems. He knows well—no one better—that the supreme issue of the present day is not merely political or social, but religious. "It has been justly said," he writes, "that at the bottom of all the great discussions of modern society lie

\* Vol. i. p. 47.

† P. 6.

‡ "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 86.

the two momentous questions, whether there is a God, and whether the soul is immortal." \* Now, the answer which Christianity gave to these questions was, until a century ago, generally received throughout Europe. Everywhere religion was publicly professed, and in it men found the main sanction of law, the great foundation both of the public and private order. "At the heart of the Revolution," as Mr. Morley tersely expresses it, "is a new way of understanding life." † He accepts the formula, "*Révolution, Révélation.*" In a passage worth presenting at some length he draws this out:

Christianity is the name for a great variety of changes which took place, during the first centuries of our era, in men's ways of thinking and feeling about their spiritual relations to unseen powers, about their moral relations to one another, about the basis and type of social union. So the Revolution is now the accepted name for a set of changes which began faintly to take a definite practical shape . . . towards the end of the eighteenth century. . . . While one movement supplied the energy and the principles which extricated civilization from the ruins of the Roman Empire, the other supplies . . . amid the distractions of the various representatives of an obsolete ordering, the only forces to be trusted, at once for multiplying the achievements of human intelligence stimulated by human sympathy, and for diffusing their beneficent results with an ampler hand and more far-scattering arm. Faith in a divine power, devout obedience to its supposed will, hope of ecstatic, unspeakable reward—these were the springs of the old movement. Undivided love of our fellows, steadfast faith in human nature, steadfast search after justice, firm aspiration towards improvement, and generous contentment in the hope that others may reap whatever reward may be—these are the springs of the new. There is no given set of practical maxims agreed to by all members of the revolutionary schools for achieving the work of release from the pressure of an antiquated social condition, any more than there is one set of doctrines and one kind of discipline accepted by all Protestants. Voltaire was a revolutionist in one sense, Diderot in another, and Rousseau in a third; just as in the practical order, Lafayette, Danton, Robespierre, represented three different aspirations and as many methods.‡

The Revolution, he goes on to tell us, "emphatically belongs" to the "class of great religious and moral movements." § It is, in fact, for Mr. Morley, a new and a better Gospel, and he delights in decorating it with the terms consecrated by the usage of the old. Thus, in one place he speaks of the *Philosophes* of the last century as "our spiritual Fathers that begat us." || Elsewhere he styles Hume, Rousseau, Diderot, "the fathers of

\* "Compromise," p. 128.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 1.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 5.

§ "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 4.

|| *Ibid.*

the new Church," and Condorcet, Mirabeau, Robespierre, its "fiery apostles." \* Robespierre is also pronounced to be "the great preacher of the Declaration of the Rights of Man;" † and the Encyclopædists are described as "a new order," ‡ "bound by the new vows of poverty, truth, and liberty," § and destined, happily, to replace the Society of Jesus. "The best men of the eighteenth century," Mr. Morley avers, were possessed by "a furious antipathy against the Church, its creeds, and its book;" || just as the best men of the first century had their spirits stirred within them when they saw fair cities wholly given to idolatry. He describes Catholicism a hundred years ago, in language which recalls St. Paul's account of the heathen world, as "a true Chimera, a Monster sodden in black corruption, with whom in the heart of a humane man there could be no terms." ¶ He is of opinion that "the Church was the most justly abhorred of all institutions." \*\* On the other hand, as St. Peter discerned in his disciples "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood," "called out of darkness into admirable light," so does Mr. Morley discern in Diderot and his allies "the great party of illumination," †† "a new priesthood," ‡‡ upon whose "lawful authority" he insists, attributing to them "more generous moral ideas and higher spirituality." §§ Does the astonished reader stare and gasp at seeing "moral ideas" and "spirituality" ascribed to bestial materialists like Diderot and his crew? Let him possess his soul in peace awhile. We shall see by-and-bye that Mr. Morley uses the words "spirituality" and "morality" in a new sense. Pass we on to observe that Mr. Morley considers the aspiration of the gluttonous and obscene blasphemers, who assembled round the Baron d'Holbach's table, for the destruction of "not merely the superstitious which had gathered round the Christian dogma, but every root and fragment of theistic conception," to be "a not ungenerous hope." |||| And his chief complaint against the men of the First Revolution is, that their means to this end were not well chosen, but "led to a mischievous reaction in favour of Catholicism." ¶¶ But I must quote Mr. Morley at length on this subject, for so alone can justice be done to the vigour of his thought and the charm of his manner. On the 10th of November 1793—or, out of compliment to Mr. Morley,

\* "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 42.

† "Diderot," vol. i. p. 17.

|| "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 12.

\*\* "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 172.

†† *Ibid.* p. 129. §§ *Ibid.* p. 131.

¶¶ Diderot, vol. ii. p. 165. At p. 187 of the same volume he expresses the opinion that "the smoke of the flaming châteaux went up as a savoury and righteous sacrifice to heaven."

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 48.

§ *Ibid.* p. 125.

¶ "Voltaire," p. 224.

†† "Diderot," vol. i. p. 9.

||| "Rousseau," vol. ii. p. 256.

let us give the date of the revolutionary calendar, the 21st of Brumaire, year II.—took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame the famous Feast of the Goddess of Reason, ordained by the Commune of Paris at the instance of Chaumette. It is hardly necessary for me to recall the details of the function : how a well-known prostitute, Mdle. Candeille, “ of the Opera,” presented the goddess, and was exhibited on a cloud made of pasteboard, with a pike in her hand, and the sacred red nightcap on her head—it was almost her only clothing—as the living image of the new divinity ; how a lamp, representing Truth, burned before her ; how her breechesless adorers (*les sans-culottes*) sang in her honour a hymn written by Chenier, to a tune composed by one Gossec, a musician much in vogue then ; how they proceeded subsequently to celebrate mysteries, “ seemingly of a Cabiric or even Paphian character,” writes the historian, which, following his prudent example, I will “ leave under the veil.” I need not say that Chaumette and his friends of the Commune—worthy predecessors of the present municipal rulers of Paris—did not confine themselves to thus persuasively recommending “ the more generous moral ideas and higher spirituality ” of the new faith. They also vigorously resorted to the civil sword. And now let us hear Mr. Morley upon them :

In the winter of 1793 the Municipal party, guided by Hébert and Chaumette, made their memorable attempt to extirpate Christianity in France. The doctrine of D'Holbach's supper-table had for a short space the arm of flesh and the sword of the temporal power on its side. It was the first appearance of dogmatic atheism in Europe as a political force. This makes it one of the most remarkable moments in the Revolution, just as it makes the Revolution itself the most remarkable moment in modern history. The first political demonstration of atheism was attended by some of the excesses, the folly, the extravagances that stained the growth of Christianity. On the whole, it is a very mild story compared with the atrocities of the Jewish records or the crimes of Catholicism. The worst charge against the party of Chaumette is, that they were intolerant, and the charge is deplorably true ; but this charge cannot lie in the mouth of persecuting churches. Historical recriminations, however, are not very edifying. . . . Let us raise ourselves into clearer air. The fault of the atheists is, that they knew no better than to borrow the maxims of the Churchmen ; and even those who agree with the dogmatic denials of the atheists—if such there be—ought yet to admit that the mere change from superstition to reason is a small gain, if the conclusions of reason are still to be enforced by the instruments of superstition. Our opinions are less important than the spirit and temper with which they possess us, and even good opinions are worth very little unless we hold them in a broad, intelligent, and spacious way. Now, some of the opinions of Chaumette



were full of enlightenment and hope. He had a generous and vivid faith in humanity. . . . One can understand how an honest man would abhor the darkness and tyranny of the Church. But then, to borrow the same absolutism in the interests of new light, was inevitably to bring the new light into the same abhorrence as had befallen the old system of darkness. . . . Instead of defying the Church by the theatrical march of the Goddess of Reason under the great sombre arches of the cathedral of Our Lady, Chaumette should have found comfort in a firm calculation of the conditions.

You, he might have said to the priests—you have so debilitated the minds of men and women by your promises and your dreams, that many a generation must come and go before Europe can throw off the yoke of your superstition. But we promise you that they shall be generations of strenuous battle. We give you all the advantage that you can get from the sincerity and pious worth of the good and simple among you. We give you all that the bad among you may get by resort to the poisoned weapons of your profession and your traditions—its bribes to mental indolence, its hypocritical affectations in the pulpit, its tyranny in the closet, its false speciousness in the world, its menace at the deathbed. With all these you may do your worst, and still humanity will escape you; still the conscience of the race will rise away from you, still the growth of brighter ideals and a nobler purpose will go on, leaving ever further and further behind them your dwarfed finality and leaden, moveless stereotype. We shall pass you by on your flank, your fieriest darts will only spend themselves upon air. We will not attack you as Voltaire did. We will not exterminate you; we shall explain you. History will place your dogma in its class, above or below a hundred competing dogmas, exactly as the naturalist classifies his species. From being a conviction, it will sink to a curiosity; from being a guide to millions of human lives, it will dwindle down to a chapter in a book. As history explains your dogma, so science will dry it up; the conception of law will silently make the conception of the daily miracle of your altars seem impossible; the mental climate will gradually deprive your symbols of your nourishment, and men will turn their backs upon your system, not because they confuted it, but because, like witchcraft or astrology, it has ceased to interest them. The great ship of your Church, once so stout and fair, and well laden with good destinies, is become a skeleton ship; it is a phantom hulk, with warped planks and sere canvas, and you who work it are no more than the ghosts of dead men, and at the hour when you seem to have reached the bay, down your ship will sink, like lead or like stone, to the deepest bottom.”\*

This passage affords an admirable specimen of Mr. Morley's controversial method. It will be observed that he is “replete with mocks, full of comparisons and wounding flouts” as Voltaire

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\* “Miscellanies,” vol. i. p. 77.



himself. I shall give a few more samples of his skill in this art of "sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer."

First, take the following, in which a parallel is more than hinted at between Voltaire and the Divine Founder of Christianity:—"Voltaire had no calm breadth of wisdom. It may be so. There are movements which need, not this calm breadth of wisdom, but a two-edged sword; and when the deliverers of mankind are those who come to send fire on the earth."\*

Mr. Morley, to whose intimate acquaintance with the letter of the Sacred Scriptures every page of his writings bears witness, must be well aware who it was that said, "I have come to send fire upon the earth."

Again, complaining of the prominence given to the base and contemptible squabbles which fill so large a space in Voltaire's life, he asks: "Why, after all, should men, from Moses downwards, be so cheerfully ready to contemplate the hinder parts of their divinities?"†

Once more. In his brief and garbled account of the Voltaire-Hirsch lawsuit—"nowhere in the annals of jurisprudence is there a more despicable thing," Mr. Carlyle rightly judges †—Mr. Morley is obliged to own that his spiritual father proved himself an accomplished forger and a hardy perjurer. But he finds in the Apostolic College of the old faith a precedent at least for the perjury, which thus, under his skilful manipulation, becomes one of "the signs of an apostle": "When very hard pressed, Voltaire would not swerve from a false oath any more than his great enemy the Apostle Peter had done."§

In an article in his "Miscellanies" Mr. Morley quotes M. Taine's opinion—which is the opinion of every sane thinker—that Jean-Jacques' "Contrat Social" "is very poor stuff." By way of reply, Mr. Morley observes that the Epistles and Gospels of Christianity are very poor stuff too. Here is the passage:

M. Taine shows, as so many others have shown before him, that the "Social Contract," when held up in the light of true political science, is very poor stuff. Undoubtedly it is so. And Quintilian—an accomplished and ingenious Taine of the first century—would have thought the Gospels and Epistles and Augustine and Jerome and Chrysostom very poor stuff indeed, compared with the

Mellifluous streams that watered all the schools  
Of Academics, old and new, with those  
Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect  
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe.

\* "Voltaire," p. 43.

† *Ibid.* p. 101.

‡ See his "Friedrich," book xvi. c. 7, for a full and impartial account of it.

§ "Voltaire," p. 206.

And in some ways, from a literary or logical point of view, the early Christian writers could ill bear this comparison.\*

Is it possible to throw dust in the eyes of the confiding reader with a more engaging air of philosophic moderation?

In the same vein, in his book on "Rousseau," speaking of the very nauseous matter, conveyed in a very nauseous manner, in certain too famous passages of that philosopher's "Confessions," he observes: "This morbid form of self-feeling is only less disgusting than the allied form which clothes itself in the phrases of religious exaltation." And he adds: "Blot out half-a-dozen pages from Rousseau's "Confessions," and the egotism is no more perverted than in the "Confessions" of Augustine."†

Sometimes comparison is used by Mr. Morley for the purpose of directly recommending that "more generous morality" by which he would supersede the received ethical doctrines—"the pedantic formulas of unreal ethics,"‡ he calls them. Thus, after allowing that "no word is to be said in extenuation of Rousseau's crime" in sending his new-born children, one after another, to the Foundling Hospital, he proceeds:

At any rate, let Rousseau be a little free from excessive reproach from all clergymen, sentimentalists, and others, who do their worst to uphold the common and rather bestial opinion in favour of reckless propagation, and who, if they do not advocate the despatch of children to public institutions, still encourage a selfish incontinence which ultimately falls in burdens on others than the offenders, and which turns the family into a scene of squalor and brutishness, producing a kind of parental influence that is far more disastrous and demoralizing than the absence of it in public institutions can possibly be. If the propagation of children without regard to their maintenance be either a virtue or a necessity, and if afterwards the only alternatives are their maintenance in an asylum, on the one hand, or in the degradation of a poverty-stricken home on the other, we should not hesitate to give people who act as Rousseau acted all that credit for self-denial and high moral courage which he so audaciously claimed for himself. It really seems to be no more criminal to produce children with the deliberate intention of abandoning them to public charity, as Rousseau did, than it is to produce them in deliberate reliance on the besotted maxim that he who sends mouths will send meat, or any other of the spurious saws which make Providence do duty for self-control, and add to the gratification of physical appetite the grotesque luxury of religious unction.§

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\* "Miscellanies," vol. iii. p. 278.

† "Rousseau," vol. ii. p. 303. So in the next page: "No monk or saint ever wrote anything more revolting in its blasphemous self-feeling."

‡ "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 6.

§ "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 127.

My readers have probably had enough to show how ardently Mr. Morley sympathizes with Voltaire's aspiration, *écraser l'Infâme*, and how skilfully he employs the same weapons which that philosopher was wont to wield. As might be expected the ministers of the *Infâme* fare as badly at his hands as their Divinity. He pronounces the main notes of the sacerdotal temperament to be "thin unction," and "private leanings to the cord and stake."\* He is of opinion that "an archbishop owes it to himself to blaspheme against freedom and reason, in superlatives of malignant unction."† The severest thing he can bring himself to say of Voltaire is that "he often sank to the level of ecclesiastics."‡ And he pleads in extenuation of a certain perjury committed by Diderot, that "such an apostle of the new doctrine was perhaps good enough for the preachers of the old."§ "Theologians," he maintains, "rest on the vileness of men," while the apostles of the new faith—Condorcet, for example—"rest on their goodness."|| To "orthodox apologists" "the stern and serene composure of the historic conscience is always unknown:"¶ there is no exception, from the days of Justin Martyr to the days of Cardinal Newman. The clergy are essentially lovers of despotism and haters of liberty. "When the people take their own government into their own hands, the clergy are sure to turn cold or apathetic towards improvement."\*\* Of the early martyrs, who, with their eyes fixed on the Cross of Christ, counted it joy to be admitted to the fellowship of His sufferings, he pronounces dogmatically that "their solace was found in barbarous mysteries."†† Baptism he speaks of as "a mere mummerly:"‡‡ one, as I suppose, of those "mere mockeries of the shrine of the Hebrew divinity now made plain to scornful eyes."§§ It is of course against the Catholic Church, as the great fortress and bulwark of historic Christianity, that Mr. Morley chiefly directs the heavy artillery of his flouts and gibes. But to Protestantism, if really earnest, he is hardly less hostile. "The great evangelical revival," he holds, "has deeply warped intellectual growth in England."||| And if, on the whole, he views Protestantism with greater indulgence than Catholicity, it is because he regards it as inchoate scepticism, sure to issue eventually in bald deism or even in sheer atheism. He observes that it was through Voltaire that "the free and protesting genius of the Reforma-

\* "Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 44.

† *Ibid.* p. 84.

|| "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 241.

\*\* *Ibid.* p. 127.

‡‡ "Compromise," p. 187.

||| "Voltaire," p. 96.

† "Rousseau," vol. ii. p. 83.

§ "Diderot," vol. i. p. 111.

¶ *Ibid.*

†† "Rousseau," vol. ii. p. 279.

§§ "Rousseau," vol. ii. p. 201.

tion, late and changed, but directly of descent, made its decisive entry into France."\* He judges, however, that "the Protestant dilution of the theological spirit seems to be, in the long run, a more effective preparation for decisive abandonment of it, than virulent dissolution in the bitter acids of Voltairism."† Even the moral character of the Divine Founder of Christianity does not escape his acrid criticism. Thus does he take to task the late Mr. Mill for the tribute paid by that philosopher to the stainless perfection of Christ:

This unconditioned exaltation of the Christ of the Gospels as "the pattern of perfection for humanity," as "the ideal representative and guide," and so forth, can only be possible to such a moralist as Mr. Mill was, or as any enlightened person of our day must be, by means of a process of selection and arbitrary rejection. We may, no doubt—and many of us do—construct an ideal figure out of the sayings, the life, and the character of the great figure of the Gospels. Mr. Mill's panegyric should remind us that we do this only on condition of shutting our eyes to about one-half of the portraits as drawn in the Gospels. I mean that not merely are some essential elements of the highest morality omitted, but that there are positive injunctions and positive traits recorded which must detract in the highest degree from the justice of an unqualified eulogium. Mr. Mill allows in one place (p. 98) that the noble moralities of Christ are "mixed with some poetical exaggerations, and some maxims of which it is difficult to ascertain the precise object." This is far too moderate an account of the matter. There are sayings morally objectionable and superstitious in the highest degree, and we have no more right arbitrarily to shift the discredit of these on to the shoulders of the disciples or narrators than we have to deny to them all possibility of credit for what is admirable. This, however, is a side of the argument which it would perhaps do more harm than good to press. Even an excessive admiration for a benign and nobly pitiful character is so attractive and so wholesome, that one can have scanty satisfaction in searching for defective traits. That Mr. Mill should have committed himself to a position which calls for this deprecatory withdrawal from the critic, is one of the puzzles and perplexities of the book. It is astonishing that he should not have seen that his conception of the character of the Prophet of Nazareth was moulded in obedience to his own subjective requirements in the way of ethical beauty, and could only be made to correspond with the objective picture in the Gospel record by means of an arbitrary suppression of some of the most remarkable sayings and striking traits. It is a process in fashion. Human experience has widened; many narrow superstitions have dropped off; the notion of right and duty has been impregnated with new ingredients; the ideal has changed. Then we proceed to the anachronism of fastening the new ideal on our

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\* "Voltaire," p. 9.

† *Ibid.* p. 220.

favourite figures of antique days, without regard either to obvious historic conditions or to the plain and unmistakable letter of the antique record. "One of the hardest burdens," as Mr. Mill says, "laid upon the other good influences of human nature has been that of improving religion itself" (p. 75). Let us carefully abstain, then, from falsifying the history of the development of human nature by imputing, either to the religions of the past, or to their founders, perfections of which it is historically impossible that either one or the other should have been possessed. Let us not assume that Christ was so infinitely "over the heads of his reporters," to use Mr. Arnold's phrase, and then proceed to construct an arbitrary anthology of sayings which we choose to accept as Christ's on the strength of this assumption. It were surely more consonant with intelligence of method to content ourselves with tracing in Christ, as in the two or three other great teachers of the world, who are hardly beneath him in psychologic efficacy, such words and traits as touch our spiritual sense and fit in with the later and more mature perceptions of the modern time. And why should we not do this without fretting against discords in act or speech that were only to be expected from the conditions; and still more, without straining our own intelligence, and coercing the record into yielding us a picture of transcendent and impossible faultlessness? \*

These extracts will perhaps be sufficient to exhibit Mr. Morley's position with regard to the conflict between the Gospel of the first century and the Gospel of the eighteenth—between Christianity and the Revolution. As he himself tersely sums the matter up: "Those who agree with the present writer, positively, absolutely, and without reserve, reject as false the whole system of objective propositions which make up the popular belief of the day, in one and all of its theological expressions." † Let us now sit at his feet awhile to learn some particulars of the new religion which he would have us embrace, and see what he has to tell us of its faith and morals.

And first, let us go back to the two momentous questions which Mr. Morley justly discerns as lying at the bottom of all the great discussions of modern society—Whether there is a God, and whether the soul is immortal? To both these questions Mr. Morley's new gospel gives us a negative answer. I do not mean to say that Mr. Morley professes dogmatic Atheism in express terms, although he manifests much admiration for its professors, ‡ as being, at all events, much more sensible than the Theists. His own opinion seems to be that

\* *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxiii. p. 120.

† "Compromise," p. 160.

‡ "The Atheists . . . were, in effect, the teachers of public spirit and beneficence" ("Diderot," vol. ii. p. 190). At p. 157 he tells us that the Church "has borrowed from them the principles of humanity and tolerance."

the existence of God is "an insoluble question."\* And he has not the least sympathy with "the sentimental juvenilities of children crying for the light."† He intimates, not obscurely, that if there is any God, He cannot be, as Christianity teaches, Love; nay, that He cannot be benevolent, nor even ethical. Admirable master of language as he is, he appears to be at a loss for words adequate to the expression of his contempt for those fatuous persons who "find joy in meditating upon the moral perfections of the Omnipotent Being, for whose diversion the dismal panorama of all the evil work done under the sun was bidden to unfold itself, and who sees that it is very good."‡ And in criticizing Mr. Mill, he writes as follows:—

It is conceivable that the world may have been created by a Being who is not good, not pitiful, not benevolent, not just; a Being no more entitled to our homage or worship than Francesco Cenci was entitled to the filial piety of his unhappy children. Why not? Morality concerns the conduct and relations of human beings, and of them only. We cannot know, nor indeed does it seem easy to believe, that the principles which cover the facts of social relationship must therefore be adequate to guide or explain the motions of a Demiurgos, holding the universal ordering in the hollow of his hand. To insist on rejecting any theory of creation which forbids us to predicate anything of the Creator in terms of morality, seems as unphilosophical as to insist on rejecting the evolutionary theory of the origin of the human species on the ground that it robs man of his nobility and dignity. If any one feels bound to praise and worship the Creator, he is bound to invest the object of his worship with praiseworthy attributes. But a philosopher is not bound to do anything except to explain the facts.§

Mr. Morley's practical conclusion is, that sensible men will be content to be what St. Paul calls *ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*, "without God in the world," and is thus expressed in a passage of his Rousseau:

Rousseau urged that Voltaire robbed men of their only solace. What Voltaire really did urge was that the solace derived from the attribution of humanity and justice to the Supreme Being, and from the metaphysical account of evil, rests upon too narrow a base either to cover the facts, or to be a true solace to any man who thinks and observes. He ought to have gone on, if it had only been possible in those times, to persuade his readers that there is no solace attainable, except that of an energetic fortitude.||

The Gospel of the Revolution, then, is devoid of any Theistic conception. And the place which God holds in the old faith is to

\* "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 316.

† "Voltaire," p. 69.

‡ "Miscellanies," vol. iii. p. 84.

§ *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxiii. p. 122.

|| "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 318.

be filled in the new by Man. It is, in point of fact, a kind of Positivism. Mr. Morley expresses his firm belief that "the coming modification of religion will undoubtedly rest upon the solidarity of mankind, as Comte said."\* And in the spirit of that philosopher he would have men "turn back to the history of their own kind, to the long chronicle of its manifold experiences, for an adequate system of life and an inspiring social faith."† "Acquiescence in Naturalism" he praises as "wise and not inglorious."‡ "Materialistic solutions in the science of man"§ commend themselves to him. He admits "that it may be useful for the purposes of classification to divide a man into body and soul, even when we believe the soul to be only a function of the body;"|| which is clearly his own opinion. The spirit, he holds, is "annihilated" by death.¶ He tells us that "the only means through which the basis for a true Positivism can be firmly laid" is "to establish at the bottom of men's minds the habit of seeking explanations of all phenomena in experience, and building up from the beginning the great Positive principle that we can only know phenomena, and can only know them experientially."\*\* Perhaps the fullest exposition of his views on this important matter is conveyed in the following passage, which, moreover, is well worth citing for its literary excellence:—

Positivity is the cardinal condition of strength for times when theology lies in decay, and the abstractions which gradually replaced the older gods have in their turn ceased to satisfy the intelligence and mould the will. All competent persons agree that it is the first condition of the attainment of scientific truth. Nobody denies that men of action find in it the first law of successful achievement in the material order. Its varied but always superlative power in the region of æsthetics is only an object of recent recognition, though great work enough has been done in past ages by men whose recognition was informal and inexpress. It is plain that, in the different classes of æsthetic manifestation there will be differences in objective shape and colour, corresponding to the varied limits and conditions of the matter with which the special art has to deal; but the critic may expect to find in all a profound unity of subjective impression, and that, the impression of a self-sustaining order and a self-sufficing harmony among all those faculties and parts and energies of universal life, which come within the idealizing range of art. In other words, the

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\* "Miscellanies," vol. iii. p. 50.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 220.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 179.

§ "Diderot," vol. i. p. 8.

|| "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 81.

¶ "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 210. Elsewhere he speaks of death as "an eternal sleep" ("Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 35).

\*\* *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 73.



characteristically modern inspiration is the inspiration of law. The regulated play of forces shows itself as fit to stir those profound emotional impulses which wake the artistic soul, as ever did the gracious or terrible gods of antique or middle times. There are glories in Turner's idealization of the energies of matter, which are at least as nobly imaginative and elevated, in spite of the conspicuous absence of the human element in them, as the highest products of the artists who believed that their work was for the service and honour of a deity.

It is as mistaken to suppose that this conviction of the supremacy of a cold and self-sustained order in the universe is fatal to emotional expansion, as it would be to suppose it fatal to intellectual curiosity. Experience has shown in the scientific sphere, that the gradual withdrawal of natural operations from the grasp of the imaginary volitions of imaginary beings has not tamed, but greatly stimulated and fertilized scientific curiosity as to the conditions of these operations. Why should it be otherwise in the æsthetic sphere? Why should all that part of our mental composition which responds to the beautiful and imaginative expression of real truths, be at once inflamed and satisfied by the thought that our whole lives, and all the movements of the universe, are the objects of the inexplicable caprice of Makers who are also Destroyers, and yet grow cold, apathetic, and unproductive, in the shadow of the belief that we can only know ourselves as part of the stupendous and inexorable succession of phenomenal conditions, moving according to laws that may be formulated positively, but not interpreted morally, to new destinies that are eternally unfathomable? Why should this conception of a coherent order, free from the arbitrary and presumptuous stamp of certain final causes, be less favourable, either to the ethical or the æsthetic side of human nature, than the older conception of the regulation of the course of the great series by a multitude of intrinsically meaningless and purposeless volitions? The alertness of our sensations for all sources of outer beauty remains unimpaired. The old and lovely attitude of devout service does not pass away to leave vacancy, but is transformed into a yet more devout obligation and service towards creatures that have only their own fellowship and mutual ministry to lean upon; and if we miss something of the ancient solace of special and personal protection, the loss is not unworthily made good by the growth of an imperial sense of participation in the common movement and equal destination of eternal forces.

To have a mind penetrated with this spiritual persuasion, is to be in full possession of the highest strength that man can attain. It springs from a scientific and rounded interpretation of the facts of life, and is in a harmony, which freshly found truths only make more ample and elaborate, with all the conclusions of the intellect in every order. The active energies are not paralyzed by the possibilities of enfeebling doubt, nor the reason drawn down and stultified by apprehension lest its methods should discredit a document, or its inferences clash with a dogma, or its light flash unseasonably on a mystery. There is none of the baleful distortion of hate, because evil and

wrongdoing and darkness are acknowledged to be effects of causes, sums of conditions, terms in a series; they are to be brought to their end, or weakened and narrowed, by right action and endeavour, and this endeavour does not stagnate in antipathy, but concentrates itself in transfixing a cause. In no other condition of the spirit than this, in which firm acquiescence mingles with valorous effort, can a man be so sure of raising a calm gaze and an enduring brow to the cruelty of circumstance. The last appalling stroke of annihilation itself is measured with purest fortitude by one, whose religious contemplation dwells most habitually upon the sovereignty of obdurate laws in the vast revolving circle of physical forces, on the one hand, and, on the other, upon that moral order which the vision and pity of good men for their fellows, guiding the spontaneous energy of all men in strife with circumstance, have raised into a structure sublimer and more amazing than all the majesty of outer nature."\*

"Our new creed," Mr. Morley modestly admits, is "rudimentary."† Still, its main outlines are, perhaps, indicated with sufficient clearness in the passages which I have cited. At its present stage of development, indeed, it is affirmative chiefly in negation. "Whosoever will be saved," it proclaims, "must before all things reject the elder gods," to whom Mr. Morley will not so much as "offer a pinch of incense."‡ Turn we to the ethics of the new religion.

Now, as a matter of fact, the morality of the old religion has rested upon the two great positions which the new rejects—belief in the existence of God, and belief in the immortality of the soul. Kant judged these beliefs to be necessary postulates of ethics. Mr. Morley thinks differently. "If the Deity is not good in the same sense as men are said to be good"—and such unquestionably is Mr. Morley's opinion of "the Hebrew divinity,"§ should such a Being really exist—"then it is a depraving mockery to make morality consist in doing his will."|| While "the natural effect of loss of belief in a future state is an energetic interest in arrangements for improving the lot of man in this

\* "Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 236.

† "Compromise," p. 167.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 195. So at p. 75: "To have been deprived of the faith of the old dispensation is the first condition of strenuous endeavour after the new."

§ He speaks of Voltaire's "Epistle to Uranie" as "that truly masculine and terse protest against the popular creed, its mean and fatuous and contradictory idea of an omnipotent God, who gave us guilty hearts so as to have the right of punishing us, and planted in us a love of pleasure so as to torment us the more effectually by appalling ills that an eternal miracle prevents from ever ending, who drowned the fathers in the deluge and then died for the children, who exacts an account of their ignorance from a hundred peoples whom he has plunged helplessly into this ignorance."

|| *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxiii. p. 122.

life." \* Does the reader demur to this *ipse dixit* as opposed to the experience of mankind in all ages? Mr. Morley will prove its truth by one conclusive example. Consider Chaumette, he urges—Chaumette,† “the fiery apostle” of the dogma that death is an eternal sleep; the inventor of the worship of Reason. If you are not fully convinced of the truth of Mr. Morley’s thesis when you reflect upon the nature of Chaumette’s “arrangements for improving the lot of men in this life,” if you experience misgivings when you recall the direction which his energy took, you are clearly still in the “gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity,” you have no dispositions for faith in the new religion. Let once the bright beams which stream from “the party of illumination” enter your mind, and then assuredly you will perceive, in the light of this great example, that “men will be more likely to have a deeper love for those about them, and a keener dread of filling a home with aching hearts, if they courageously realized from the beginning of their days that . . . the black and horrible grave is indeed the end.” ‡

But let us proceed. The morality of the old religion was bound up with the belief in man’s liberty of volition. Human personality it regarded as manifested under the condition of free will, influenced but not coerced by motives, endowed with power of choice between alternative courses. Upon this foundation rested the whole edifice of man’s duty, public and private. The human *can* was the correlative of the divine *ought*. But if there is no God, the Creator, Sovereign, and Judge of men, and man is a mere machine with no more soul than a steam-engine, we are reduced to determinism, which, indeed, is a primary dogma of the new religion. And so Mr. Morley pronounces that “the doctrine of free will is virtually unmeaning”§—as to him it of course must be—and to the fatuous persons who believe it he opposes “sensible people who accept the scientific account of human action.” “*Sapientes qui sentiunt mecum.*” Still, those of us who are thus under sentence of intellectual reprobation may find some consolation in the thought that we are in the company of Plato and Aristotle, of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, of Leibnitz and Kant. Let us now see how Mr. Morley proposes to get ethics out of necessarianism;

This brings us to Holbach’s treatment of Morals. The moment

\* “Miscellanies,” vol. i. p. 78.

† “Chaumette showed the natural effect of abandoning belief in another life by his energetic interest in arrangements for improving the lot of man in this” (“Miscellanies,” vol. i. p. 78). To the first part of this proposition, at all events, we may assent, and it is always a pleasure to agree with Mr. Morley if one can. Chaumette undoubtedly is an excellent example of “the natural effect of abandoning belief in another life.”

‡ “Rousseau,” vol. i. p. 220.

§ “Miscellanies,” vol. i. p. 236.

had come to France which was reached at an earlier period in English speculation, when the negative course of thought in metaphysics drove men to consider the basis of ethics. How were right and wrong to hold their own against the new mechanical conception of the Universe?

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Holbach begins by a most unflinching exposure of the inconsistency with all that we know of Nature, of the mysterious theory of Free Will. This remains one of the most effective parts of the book, and perhaps the work has never been done with a firmer hand. The conclusion is expressed with a decisiveness that almost seems crude. There is declared to be no difference between a man who throws himself out of the window and the man whom I throw out, except this, that the impulse acting on the second comes from without, and that the impulse determining the fall of the first comes from within his own mechanism. You have only to get down to the motive, and you will invariably find that the motive is beyond the actor's own power or reach. The inexorable logic with which the author presses the Free-Willer from one retreat to another, and from shift to shift, leaves his adversary at last exactly as naked and defenceless before Holbach's vigorous and thoroughly realized Naturalism as the same adversary must always be before Jonathan Edwards' vigorous theism. "The system of man's liberty," Holbach says (II. ii.) with some pungency, "seems only to have been invented in order to put him in a position to offend his God, and so to justify God in all the evil that he inflicted on man, for having used the freedom which was so disastrously conferred upon him."

If man be not free, what right have we to punish those who cannot help committing bad actions, or to reward others who cannot help committing good actions? Holbach gives to this and the various other ways of describing fatalism as dangerous to society the proper and perfectly adequate answer. He turns to the quality of the action, and connects with that the social attitude of praise and blame. Merit and demerit are associated with conduct according as it is thought to affect the common welfare advantageously or the reverse. My indignation and my approval are as necessary as the acts that excite these sentiments. My feelings are neither more nor less spontaneous than the deciding motives of the actor. Whatever be the necessitating cause of our actions, I have a right to do my best by praise and blame, by reward and punishment, to strengthen or to weaken, to prolong or to divert, the motives that are the antecedents of the action; exactly as I have a right to dam up a stream, or to divert its course, or otherwise deal with it to suit my own convenience. Penal laws, for instance, are ways of offering to men strong motives, to weigh in the scale against the temptation of an immediate personal gratification.

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Holbach answers effectively enough the common objection that his fatalism would plunge men's souls into apathy. If all is necessary, why should I not let things go, and myself remain quiet? As if we *could* stay our hands from action, if our feelings were trained to proper sensibility and sympathy. As if it were possible for a man of tender

disposition not to interest himself keenly in all that concerns the lot of his fellow-creatures. How does our knowledge that death is necessary prevent us from deploring the loss of a beloved one? How does my consciousness that it is the inevitable property of fire to burn, prevent me from using all my efforts to prevent a conflagration?

Finally, when people urge that the doctrine of necessity degrades man by reducing him to a machine, and likening him to some growth of abject vegetation, they are merely using a kind of language that was invented in ignorance of what constitutes the true dignity of man. What is nature itself but a vast machine, in which our human species is no more than one weak spring? The good man is a machine whose springs are adapted so to fulfil their functions as to produce beneficent results for his fellows. How could such an instrument not be an object of respect and affection and gratitude?

In closing this part of Holbach's book, while not dissenting from his conclusions, we will only remark how little conscious he seems of the degree to which he empties the notions of praise and blame of the very essence of their old contents. It is not a modification, but the substitution of a new meaning under the old names. Praise in its new sense of admiration for useful and pleasure-giving conduct or motive, is as powerful a force and as adequate an incentive to good conduct and good motives as praise in the old sense of admiration for a deliberate and voluntary exercise of a free-acting will. But the two senses are different. The old ethical association is transformed into something which usage and the requirements of social self-preservation must make equally potent, but which is not the same. If Holbach and others who hold necessarian opinions were to perceive this more frankly, and to work it out fully, they would prevent a confusion that is very unfavourable to them in the minds of most of those whom they wish to persuade. It is easy to see that the work next to be done in the region of morals is the readjustment of the ethical phraseology of the volitional stage, to fit the ideas proper to the stage in which man has become as definitely the object of science as any of the other phenomena of the universe.\*

It has been my object in this paper rather accurately to expound than formally to refute Mr. Morley's opinions. To speak plainly—which I trust I may do without incurring the imputation of discourtesy—his opinions seldom seem to me worth the trouble of refuting. But before I go on, I may observe upon the passage which I have just cited, that it does not give one a very exalted impression of Mr. Morley's capacity for philosophical inquiry. If men be not free, what right have we to punish those who cannot help committing bad actions, or to reward others who cannot help committing good actions? That is the question. Holbach's answer is in effect: We may praise or blame a machine according as it gives us pleasure or

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\* "Diderot," vol. ii. p. 178.

pain; and if the machine is intelligent, our praise or blame will supply motives for its acts. This answer Mr. Morley commends as "proper, and perfectly adequate." It is true, he adds, that Holbach thus "empties the notions of praise and blame of the very essence of their old contents." Of course this is true. And that—although Mr. Morley quite fails to perceive it—is a sufficient answer to Holbach. An ethical element is of the essence of what we mean by praise or blame. And for that element there is no room in the philosophy of Holbach or of Mr. Morley. Hence they are under the necessity of denying it, or of explaining it away, as Mr. Morley seeks to do when he grotesquely tells us that "a machine whose springs are adapted so to fulfil their functions as to produce beneficent results"—a "patent self-guiding perambulator," for example—must "be an object of respect, and affection, and gratitude." No. The moral element in praise or blame is not artificial. It is in the nature of men, and no fork of determinism will expel it thence. "I have a right to do my best, by praise and blame, by reward and punishment, to strengthen or to weaken, to prolong or to divert, the motives that are the antecedents of the action, exactly as I have a right to dam up a stream, or to divert its course, or otherwise deal with it, to suit my own convenience." Surely this is what Sir Toby Belch would call "exceeding good senseless." Right! Why every one has a right to do what he cannot help doing. The word "right" implies moral quality. But if our actions, good or bad, are simply the necessitated outcome of machinery, moral quality does not exist in them. "As if we could stay our hands from action, if our feelings were trained to proper sensibility and sympathy!" But if they are not so trained, the reason is that they cannot be trained, and it is no one's fault, but arises from the nature of the machine: "*velle non discitur*" is an axiom of determinism. "As if it were possible for a man of tender disposition not to interest himself keenly in all that concerns the lot of his fellow-creatures!" But men are not, as a rule, of tender disposition. Nor assuredly will the philosophy of Mr. Morley make them such. Empty men of the notion of God, which you denounce, with Mr. Morley, as hateful and ridiculous; abolish the old volitional morality, as "the pedantic requirements of unreal ethics," and substitute for it "usage and the requirements of social self-preservation;" teach man that his real dignity lies in this—that he is "one weak spring" in "the vast machine of nature," and, in point of fact, you hand over the human mammal, helpless and impotent, to the blind impulses of egoism, to the terrible heritage of savage instincts, accumulated in his nervous system, and now barely held in check by religion



and philosophy. The work of civilization is undone, and "homo homini lupus" is again the true account of the human race. "Sensibility," and "sympathy," and "tender disposition!"\* I confess this cant sickens me. The image of Joseph Surface rises before my mind, and I incline to say with old Sir Peter Teazle, "Oh! damn your sentiment." One knows very well what the issue of it really is; and how these rose-water revolutionists who set out with affirming that all is good in man's nature, end by finding the human race "suspect." Mr. Morley, as we have seen, professes to go by the facts. He glorifies "the great positive principle" that "we can only know phenomena, and know them only experientially." Let him keep to the phenomena of human life, and assuredly the optimistic haze in which he views it will soon fade away. As assuredly, experience will certify to him the fact that our motives can be within our power. "Sir, we know that our will is free, and there's an end of it," said Dr. Johnson. Of course this dictum requires to be limited and guarded, and thrown into scientific shape, before a metaphysician can accept it. But it is a rough-and-ready expression of a truth overwhelmingly demonstrated by the every-day experience of life, to which alone Mr. Morley, upon his own principles, has a right to refer. As to the argument from inanimate nature, where we all admit that necessity rules, to that which happens in what—*pace* Mr. Morley—is another province altogether, the human spirit, it is altogether irrational. "It is"—as a brilliant friend of my own has remarked with equal truth and pungency—it is "like saying that sight is impossible because we have no eyes in the stomach." For the rest, the practical consequences to human society of the ethics, or unethics, taught by the new religion, appear to me to be abundantly clear. What they are I pointed out elsewhere † a short time ago, in words which, as I cannot find others better to express my meaning, I may be allowed to repeat here:—

With what is called metaphysical liberty, with freedom of volition, merit and demerit disappear too. Human causality, human spontaneity, human responsibility, all die before the "uncreating word" of materialism. Its doctrine of absolute irresponsibility makes an end of ethics; its criminal legislation can be nothing but *vana sine moribus leges*. For the sting of punishment is not the actual fact—"stone walls do not a prison make"—but the moral disapprobation of which the fact is evidence. But how visit with moral disapprobation those

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\* The "great central moral doctrine" of the Revolution, Mr. Morley tells us, is "that human nature is good, and that the evil of the world is the fruit of bad education and bad institutions" ("Diderot," vol. i. p. 5).

† See my article "Materialism and Morality" in the *Fortnightly Review* of November last.



who were incapable of doing anything but what they did? Poor victims of temperament, of heredity, of environment, they are to be pitied, not blamed; while, indeed, we seclude them for the protection of our persons and pockets; for we are the numerical majority, we can appeal to the *ultima ratio* of force, if to nothing higher. It is no fancy picture which I am now drawing. Fifty years ago Balzac wrote: "Crime has been made poetical; tears are drivelled over assassins." True as his words were then, they are even truer now. The idea of law as the embodied conscience of a nation of persons, the belief in justice, in the old sense, as something quite transcending mere expediency—*flat justitia pereat mundus*—the conception of the civil magistrate as a minister of the retribution ordained by that justice as "the other half of crime"—these things have well nigh died out from the popular mind, as, in place of the old spiritual principles of ethics, materialism refers us to natural history.

Such, as it seems to me, will be the effect upon the public order of that determinism which is a primary dogma of the revolutionary religion. The bond\* of civil society is obedience to law, fenced round with penalties. But legislation rests upon the doctrine of human responsibility. To that doctrine necessitarianism is fatal. But if law, with penal sanctions, be the bond of civil society, the family is certainly its foundation. Where wedlock and legal paternity are unknown, and complete promiscuity prevails in the relations of the sexes—as among the aborigines of Australia and Fiji—civilization does not exist. The State depends upon the family, and the family depends upon marriage. Now, marriage, as it is still found in Europe, is mainly the creation of Christianity. Wordsworth gave utterance to no poetical fancy, but to the exact truth, when he sang of "pure religion breathing household laws." What will become of marriage, and of that virtue of purity of which it is the guardian, when the new religion imposes its ethics on the world, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ is superseded by the Gospel of the Revolution?

Let us ever remember that the first law of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is self-denial: conformity to the mind of the Master, who pleased not Himself: the taking up of His cross: the immolation thereon of the flesh, with its affections and lusts. As I have observed in a recent work:

There can be no question at all that Christianity presented itself to the decadent and moribund civilization of the Roman Empire as an ascetic doctrine: a doctrine of abstinence, not only from the things which it branded as positively sinful, but from things in themselves licit. The world—which St. John exhorts his disciples not to love,

\* "Generale quippe pactum est societatis humanæ obelire regibus suis." (St. Aug. "Confes." lib. iii. c. 8.)

because the love of it is incompatible with the love of the Father, which he describes as lying in the wicked one, which over and over again in the New Testament the disciples of Christ are bidden to forsake and overcome, and which (such is the vitality of phrases) stands even in our own day for the complete antithesis of the Church—is the present visible frame of things, doomed, as these early preachers believed, soon to pass away with the lust thereof; the flesh—in which St. Paul declared no good thing to dwell, which it was his daily endeavour to keep under and bring into subjection—is the whole of man's lower or animal nature. Whatever is doubtful, this is clear. And to those who do not admit it we may say, without discourtesy, that, whether through ignorance or prejudice, they are so hopelessly in the dark on this matter as to render any argument with them regarding it mere waste of time. The principle, then, which transformed the individual by the renewing of his mind, was the principle of self-sacrifice. And this was the principle which transformed society.\*

Now, the teaching of Christianity about the virtue of purity rests upon the asceticism which is so essential a part of that religion. To live out one's impulses with no restraints save those imposed by prudential moderation, was the highest counsel of that ancient naturalism which deified and worshipped the passion of desire. The precept of St. Peter is ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν : "to abstain from fleshly lusts"; and the reason he gives for such abstinence is, that they "war against the soul." "Bonum est homini mulierem non tangere" writes St. Paul. It is a counsel of perfection, given only to those who are able to receive it. To the multitude, whose lives are led upon the lower levels of humanity, marriage is conceded *propter fornicationem*, or, as the Anglican Nuptial Service puts it, correctly interpreting the unbroken Christian tradition of fifteen centuries, "that those who have not the gift of continence might keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body." It is conceded, and it is transformed. From a mere civil contract it becomes "magnum sacramentum," holy and indissoluble : the curb of man's lawless appetite and the bulwark of woman's fragile honour. There can be no question at all that upon this ascetic treatment of the most potent and deeply rooted of man's instincts, Christian civilization is based. It has been well observed by Mr. Allie :—

When [Christianity] began its great work, not only was the unity of marriage broken by repudiation of the bond and perpetual violation of its sanctity, but in the background of all civilized life lurked a host of abominations, all tending to diminish the fertility of the human race, and to destroy life in its beginning and in its progress. . . . [The Church] succeeded not only in rolling back the tide of pollution,

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\* "Chapters in European History," vol. i. p. 84.

but in establishing the basis of all social life, the unity and indissolubility of marriage. . . . The power of a sacrament had silently been insinuated into the decayed, the almost pulverized foundations of social life, and built them up with the solidity of a rock, which would bear the whole superstructure of the city of God.\*

Let us turn now to the gospel of the eighteenth century, and see what is its teaching upon this matter of such ineffable importance to society. Mr. Morley, in a passage of his "*Voltaire*," thus clearly indicates the attitude of the new religion towards what he calls "the mediæval superstition about purity." † The adjective "mediæval" is, I suppose, rather vituperative than descriptive, the "superstition" in question being an essential part of Christianity, and no more peculiar to the Middle Ages than to any other period in the history of that religion :—

The peculiarity of the licence of France in the middle of the eighteenth century is, that it was looked upon with complacency by the great intellectual leaders of opinion. It took its place in the progressive formula. What austerity was to other forward movements, licence was to this. It is not difficult to perceive how so extraordinary a circumstance came to pass. Chastity was the supreme virtue in the eyes of the Church, the mystic key to Christian holiness. Continence was one of the most sacred of the pretensions by which the organized preachers of superstition claimed the reverence of men and women. It was identified, therefore, in a particular manner with that infamous against which the main assault of the time was directed. So men contended, more or less expressly—first, that continence was no commanding chief among virtues; then that it was a very superficial and easily practised virtue; finally, that it was no virtue at all, but if sometimes a convenience, generally an impediment to free human happiness." ‡

Quite in accordance with these views of the apostles and evangelists of the new religion, Mr. Morley declares "the Catholic ideal of womanhood" to be "no more adequate to the facts of life than Catholic views about science, or property, or labour, or political order or authority." § He lifts up his testimony against "the

\* "*Formation of Christendom*," vol. i. p. 306.

† "*Voltaire*," p. 152.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 149.

§ "*Diderot*," vol. i. p. 76. I trust I may, without offence, intimate my doubt whether Mr. Morley is very accurately informed regarding "Catholic views about science, or property, or labour, or political order, or authority." One instance must suffice to indicate the reason for my scepticism. In his "*Rousseau*" (vol. ii. p. 144) he writes: "The will of the prince, he (Aquinas) says, to be a law, must be directed by reason: law is appointed for the common good, and not for a special or private good: it follows from this that only the reason of the multitude, or of a prince representing the multitude, can make a law" ("*Summa*," xc.-cvi.). I know not whether to admire more the mode of reference to St. Thomas or the account of his opinion as to the source of law.

mutilating hand of religious asceticism,"\* and in another place, using the same significant phrase, he declares that "every branch of the Church, from the oldest to the youngest and crudest," has in its degree afflicted and retarded mankind "with mutilation."† He cites approvingly Diderot's opinion, that "what they call evangelical perfection is only the mischievous art of stifling Nature."‡ Apparently Diderot is for Mr. Morley a special authority upon this subject. He assures us that this indescribably filthy writer, and no less filthy liver, "was keenly alive to the beauty of order [in the relations of the sexes] and domestic piety."§ There can be no room for the impression that Mr. Morley is poking fun at us. He is nothing if not serious. The judicious reader is therefore driven to the conclusion that order in the relations of the sexes, in the new religion, must be precisely what is called disorder in the old. "This may be new-fashioned modesty," exclaims poor Mr. Harcastle; "but I never saw anything look so like old-fashioned impudence." Reverse the precepts of "pure religion breathing household laws," which have made the Christian family what it is, and apparently you will get the code of sexual morality and domestic piety prescribed by the Gospel of the Revolution. We should, however, wrong Mr. Morley if we supposed him to approve, or to recommend, unbounded licence in the gratification of the sexual appetite. On the contrary, he solemnly declares that "some continence and order in the relations of men and women is a good thing."|| "Some!" It is vague. Still, whatever it may amount to, we may be thankful for it. To speak frankly, however—and the occasion calls for plain speaking—I fear it does not amount to much. In a suggestive passage dealing with the early excesses of "the great preacher of the Declaration of the Rights of Man"—Robespierre—Mr. Morley counsels, not "the chastising, the bringing into subjection,"¶ but "the better ordering and governance of the youthful appetite," and insists that thereby "a diviner brightness would be given to the earth."\*\* Again, in describing Rousseau's mock espousals with his filthy concubine, while declining to pronounce authoritatively whether this was or was not, "a marriage according to the truth of Nature," he admonishes us

\* "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 16.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ "Diderot," vol. i. p. 13.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 22. So in his book on Rousseau (vol. i. p. 306) he speaks of that philosopher as "a Puritan."

|| "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 218.

¶ The "castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo," of the Vulgate—emphatic as it is—very inadequately represents the force of the original: "ὑποτάξω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ."

\*\* "Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 7.

that "Rousseau was as free to choose his own rites as more sacramental performers." \* How deeply the traditions of the English home offend Mr. Morley may be judged from the following passage :—

There is probably no uglier growth of time than that mean and poor form of domesticity which has always been too apt to fascinate the English imagination ever since the last great effort of the Rebellion, and which rose to the climax of its popularity when George III. won all hearts by living like a farmer. Instead of the fierce light beating about a throne, it played lambently upon a sty.† And the nation who admired, imitated. When the Regent came, and with him that coarse profligacy which has alternated with cloudy insipidity in the annals of the line, the honest part of the world, out of antipathy to the son, was driven even further into domestic sentimentality of a greasy kind, than it had gone from affection for the sire. ‡

"Byron," Mr. Morley continues, "helped to clear the air of this." That apparently is his great merit, and brings him within "the progressive formula." "The domestic sentiment almost disappears in those works which made Byron most popular, or else it only appears to be banished with reproach. This is quite in accordance with the revolutionary spirit."

So much must suffice to indicate the nature of the new religion, its faith and morals, of which Mr. Morley is the zealous preacher. How burning his zeal is will have been evident from the passages of his works which I have cited. We may truly say of him, as he has truly said of Condorcet, that "there is something theological in his hatred of theology;" § that "in every page of his writings we hear the ground swell of suppressed passion;" that, "urgent, heated, impetuous, with a heavy vehemence all his own," he is "the incarnation of the Revolutionary Spirit." || His absolute sincerity is as patent as his singular literary power. I must do myself the pleasure of citing one more page—a magnificent bit of writing it is—which signally displays both these qualities :—

And what is this smile of the world, to win which we are bidden to sacrifice our moral manhood : this frown of the world, whose terrors are more awful than the withering up of truth and the slow going out of light within the souls of us ? Consider the triviality of life, and conversation, and purpose in the bulk of those whose approval is held

\* "Rousseau," vol. i. p. 129.

† It is worth while to compare the judgment of M. le Play. "En Angleterre les mœurs avaient été restaurées sous la salubre influence des bons exemples donnés par George III.," writes that publicist. ("L'Organisation de Travail," p. 188.)

‡ "Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 242.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 175.

|| *Ibid.* p. 181.

out for our prize, and the mark of our high calling. Measure, if you can, the empire over them of prejudice unadulterated by a single element of rationality, and weigh, if you can, the huge burden of custom, unrelieved by a single leavening particle of fresh thought. Ponder the share which selfishness and love of ease have in the vitality and the maintenance of the opinions that we are forbidden to dispute. Then how pitiful a thing seems the approval or the disapproval of those creatures of the conventions of the hour, as one figures the merciless vastness of the universe of matter sweeping us headlong through viewless space; as one hears the wail of misery that is for ever ascending to the deaf gods; as one counts the little tale of the years that separate us from eternal silence. In the light of these things a man should surely dare to live his small span of life with little heed of the common speech upon him or his life, only caring that his days may be full of reality, and his conversation of truth-speaking and wholeness." \*

Mr. Morley tells us: "A person who takes the trouble to form his own opinions and beliefs will feel that he owes no responsibility to the majority for his conclusions. . . . When he proceeds to apply his beliefs in the practical conduct of life, his position is different." † I will not at present discuss the first of these propositions. To the second I unreservedly assent, and I would observe that it has a special application to the case of Mr. Morley himself. He has told us that "literature ought to be rated below action." ‡ And we may be quite sure that what has led him to exchange the quiet of his library for the turmoil of politics is no ignoble lust of power, no vulgar craving for titular distinction; but the desire to apply his beliefs "to the practical conduct of life," and so "to render the loftier services to mankind." § We may be quite sure that the same spirit which breathes through his works will animate his political action. It is to his earnest singleness of purpose even more than to his great intellectual gifts that he owes the high position which he has so soon taken in the House of Commons. Hence the importance of correctly apprehending what that purpose is. Now, the Liberalism of which Mr. Morley is so accomplished a representative is a very different thing from the set of principles and beliefs which have hitherto in the main guided the great historic Liberal party. The watchword of that party has ever been "Civil and Religious Liberty;" and to this watchword, with whatever occasional deflections and shortcomings, it has been loyal. In my judgment we owe to that party, directly or indirectly, every wise reform, every beneficent law which for the last two centuries has found place on the Statute-book. To its

\* "Compromise," p. 197.

† *Ibid.* p. 201.

‡ "Voltaire," p. 18.

§ *Ibid.* p. 17.

action, its suffering, we owe it that English freedom has "slowly broadened down," from the Bill of Rights to the last Act for the relief of religious disabilities. Mr. Morley's Liberalism is of a French, not an English type. It is sectarian rather than political. "We have no parties in my country; we have only sects," an accomplished Frenchman once observed to me. The primary object of the Revolution of which Mr. Morley avows himself a child is to efface Christianity, or, in the phrase which he adopts from Voltaire, to crush out "the Infamous." He insists strongly that those who are convinced that the Christian "dogma is not true, and that both dogma and Church must be slowly replaced by higher forms of faith"—"we have seen what those "higher forms of faith" are—have as distinctly a function in the community as the ministers and upholders of the Churches."\* And that function of course is to destroy the dogma and the Church. That is the great end. The means must vary according to time and place. But there is one means just now of universal application throughout Europe, which is recommended both by its obvious efficacy and by the authority of those whose praise is in all the revolutionary churches. What this means is, let us learn from a personage who being dead yet speaketh—the late M. Paul Bert—"a new glory of the Revolution," as he has been recently designated by a sorrowful and admiring countryman. The designation seems to me very just. I discern in him a worthy successor of Chaumette, not inferior either in impiety or in ferocity to his great prototype. Unpropitious fates withheld from him the power of rivalling the exploits of that Apostle of the guillotine. He was reduced to seek his solace during the intervals of blasphemy, in the blood and cries of creatures lower than man in the scale of sentient existence. Possibly, he may have found some consolation for the inferiority of his victims in the exquisite refinements of prolonged cruelty, whereby he was wont to torture out their poor lives. He rests from his labours; and can any one, whose moral sense is not hopelessly blunted, doubt that his works do follow him? Nay, if we may accept the revelation of the Unseen given us in what, I suppose, must be accounted the *Cantica Canticorum* † among the Sacred Books of the new

\* "Compromise," p. 221.

† The Song of Songs, which is Voltaire's:—

Mon cher lecteur, il est temps de te dire  
Qu'un jour Satan, seigneur du sombre empire,  
À ses vassaux donnait un grand régal,  
Il était fête au manoir infernal.

\* \* \* \* \*

Le roi cornu de la hualle noire  
Se déridait entouré de ses pairs.  
Ou s'enivrait du nectar des enfers,



religion, may we not conceive of him as welcomed with an emphatic "Chauftez-vous" by the master whom he had so long and faithfully served? He has gone to his reward; but his words remain, a light to the feet and a lantern to the paths of those who have obtained like precious faith with him. The great work immediately before them, he solemnly insisted upon a memorable occasion, is to banish religion from primary education.\*

What has been done in France to carry out this counsel we all know. We know also what it is desired to do in England. Let us hear what Mr. Morley has to say upon this momentous subject, in words written originally in 1874, and reprinted, unaltered, in 1886:—

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Ou fredonnait quelques chansons à boire,  
Lorsqu'à la porte il s'élève un grand cri,  
"Ah! bonjour donc, vous voilà, vous voici,  
C'est lui, messieurs, c'est le grand émissaire,  
C'est Grisbourdon, notre féal ami;  
Entrez, entrez, et chauffez-vous ici."

("La Pucelle d'Orléans," chant v.)

\* "Les religions n'ont pas qualité pour parler de morale; car elles reposent sur des bases fausses, sur des hypothèses injustifiables, sur des conceptions erronées de la nature de l'homme, de son rôle dans la société et dans le monde physique. . . . L'enseignement religieux est l'école de l'imbécillité, du fanatisme, de l'antipatriotisme et de l'immoralité. Nous avons bien fait de le chasser de l'école. . . . *Plus les sociétés s'acheminent vers la morale, plus elles s'éloignent de la religion.*" (Speech at the Cirque d'Hiver, 28th August, 1881.)

I will give an extract from another speech of M. Bert, which may with advantage be compared with some of the passages cited from Mr. Morley in this article:

"Ici, les abstracteurs de quintessence's s'exclament de bonne ou de mauvaise foi. Ils nous disent: vous n'avez pas le droit de donner, l'enseignement moral tant que vous n'aurez pas défini la base de la morale, tant que vous n'aurez pas catégorisé d'une façon nette ce qui est le bien, ce qui est le mal; tant que vous n'aurez pas trouvé le mobile et la sanction, vous ne pourrez pas édifier votre enseignement moral. Et alors ils nous font cette condition étrange qui rappelle les contes de fées; il faut perforer à travers le marais de la métaphysique jusqu'à ce qu'on ait trouvé le roc solide—s'il y en a un.

"A ceux qui sont de mauvaise foi, en parlant ainsi, il n'y a qu'à tourner le dos. Quant aux autres, il faut leur répondre et je leur réponds: vous avez pendant des siècles, reculé la marche de l'esprit humain. Je vous connais. . . . Nous laissons là votre métaphysique. Continuez à tourner votre roue d'écureuil; quant à nous, nous avons fait une physique et une chimie qui se portent assez bien et qui font bonne figure dans le monde des sciences. Ce qu'on a fait pour les sciences physiques on le fera pour les sciences morales, et les métaphysiciens continueront pendant l'éternité cet étrange jeu qui ressemble à un jeu de bilboquet dont la boule n'aurait pas de trou." (Speech at a banquet of five hundred schoolmasters and schoolmistresses at Véfours, 18th September, 1881.)

A small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement, unless the first is made on the lines and in the direction of the second. And so it may, if it be successfully palmed off upon a society as actually being the second. In such a case as this—and our legislation presents instances of the kind—the small reform, if it be not made with reference to some large progressive principle, and with a view to further extension of its scope, makes it all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction when improvement is again demanded. To take an example which is now very familiar to us all: the Education Act of 1870 was of the nature of a small reform. No one pretends that it is anything approaching to a final solution of a complex problem. But the Government insisted, whether rightly or wrongly, that their Act was as large a measure as public opinion was at that moment ready to support. At the same time it was clearly agreed among the Government and the whole of the party at their backs, that at some time or other, near or remote, if public instruction was to be made genuinely effective, the private, voluntary, or denominational system would have to be replaced by a national system. To prepare for this ultimate replacement was one of the points to be most steadily borne in mind, however slowly and tentatively the process might be conducted. Instead of that, the authors of the Act deliberately introduced provisions for extending and strengthening the very system which will have eventually to be superseded. They thus, by their small reform, made the future great reform the more difficult of achievement.\*

These words seem to me to be especially worthy of being deeply pondered. Much might be said upon them. All I shall say at present is, that I have reason to think Mr. Morley ill-informed as to that clear agreement of which he speaks. I have myself been assured by the two statesmen chiefly responsible for the Education Act of 1870, that it was not designed as a step towards the supersession of voluntary and denominational schools; that neither of them had the least intention to bring about the "future great reform" which Mr. Morley so earnestly desires, and desires naturally enough, because he is well aware that it would supply the most effective means of undermining the Christianity of England, and of making straight the paths of the new religion. *and*

W. S. LILLY.

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\* "Compromise," p. 230.

## ART. II.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA—TANJORE.

**M**OST of the Protestant missions in India are of recent origin. Very few of them date back farther than the beginning of the present century. Among the oldest, if not the oldest of all, is the mission of Tanjore. Here Protestant missionaries have been at work for more than a hundred years. Here, if anywhere, we might expect to see at the best advantage the results of their labours.

Tanjore is a district in Southern India. The city which gives it a name stands on the lower course of the Cauvery, and the district includes the rich delta of that river. Its fertility has won it the title of the garden of Southern India. In the last century Tanjore was one of the States of the Mahratta league, but in 1799, its Rajah Sharabhoji placed his territory under British protection, and practically ceded it to the Company. On the death of his son Sivaji in 1855, the ruling family became extinct, and the annexation of the district was completed.

Early in the 17th century the Rajah of Tanjore had ceded to an enterprising Danish captain the seacoast town of Tranquebar. The place became the centre of the Danish trade with the East, and in 1706 King Frederick IV. of Denmark sent thither Ziegenbalg and Plütschan, the two first Protestant missionaries who had ever appeared in India. Tranquebar soon became the headquarters of an active Lutheran propaganda. About 1728 some native Catholics at Tanjore apostatized and became Lutherans, chiefly through the influence of a soldier who had been "converted" by the missionaries during a visit to Tranquebar. After this Tanjore was visited by Pressier, a member of the Danish mission; but it does not appear to have become a permanent centre of Lutheranism until Swartz arrived in India.

Christian Frederick Swartz\* was one of the most remarkable of the early Protestant missionaries in India. He was a man of considerable mental power, with a marked talent for languages, and a great influence over the minds of other men. No one who reads his letters can doubt his earnestness and zeal for the diffusion of what he held to be the truths of Christianity. He was born at Sonnenburg, in Prussia, in 1726, and in 1750 he went out to India to take part in the labours of the Lutheran mission, of which he became before long the most active and

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\* The name is now often written Schwartz, but the missionary himself used to write it Swartz.

prominent member. In his missionary journeys he occasionally visited Tanjore, and in 1769 he was introduced to its ruler, Tuljaji Rajah, on whom he made such a favourable impression that their acquaintance soon ripened into friendship. After this his visits to Tanjore became more frequent, until in 1778 he established himself permanently there. By this time there was a British resident at the Court, and an English garrison at his command, so that Tuljaji was practically a tributary prince. Swartz was protected and assisted by the Rajah in various ways, and he showed his gratitude by being helpful to him when the occasion offered. Thus in 1782 he made him a loan of about £400.\* Five years later when Tuljaji was on his death-bed he adopted as his son a young prince of his house, named Sharabhoji, appointing his brother, Amir Singh, regent during his minority, and Swartz his tutor. Before he died, Tuljaji handed to the missionary "a written document, sealed by himself and his chief ministers, in which he made an appropriation for ever of a village, of the yearly income of about five hundred pagodas (£200), for the school, and more especially for the orphans."† This was not the only grant Swartz received for his mission from the authorities at Tanjore. Later on we find him accepting a monthly grant in aid of the Protestant poor of an adjacent mission. There is no doubt that he accepted these grants in a most disinterested spirit, and used them with prudent care that they should not degenerate into bribes for proselytes; but in the hands of less worthy, or less prudent successors, the funds of the Tanjore mission have proved, as we shall see, a fatal possession.

Swartz died in 1798; it says much for him that he was all his life opposed to the marriage of missionaries. He held that men who came to do such work should be wholly devoted to it, and should have no other interests in the world, and he practised what he preached. Self-interest of any kind had no part in his character. He had unbounded influence with the successive rulers of Tanjore, and with the East India Company's representatives in Southern India, and there is no doubt that he used it only for the advantage of the people among whom he laboured.

Swartz worked at Tanjore in connection with the English Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, to which he had transferred himself from the Danish mission some time after his arrival in India.‡ The establishments of the Danish mission at Tranquebar were, in 1841, handed over to the Leipzig

\* Pearson: "Memoirs of Swartz," ii. 145.

† *Ibid.* ii. 146.

‡ In 1826 the S.P.C.K. transferred its missions in the Madras Presidency to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Madras Diocesan Committee was formed in connection with the S.P.G. to direct them.

Evangelical Lutheran Mission. In most India districts, by an arrangement between the missionary societies, only one of the various forms of Protestantism is presented to the natives. In the Tanjore district this convenient arrangement does not exist. The Danes have gone from Tranquebar, but the German Lutherans have taken their place, and pushed their operations to Tanjore itself. There is therefore a standing quarrel in the district between the representatives of Lutheranism and those of Anglicanism. Both claim "Father Swartz" as their own.

It is not easy to say how many or how few Protestants there were in Tanjore at the death of Swartz. Dean Pearson, his biographer, gives no statistics. Three years later, however, in 1801, Gericke, his successor, reports : \* "It is delightful to see the growth of the Tanjore mission, and the southern congregations dependent on it. The inhabitants of whole villages flock to it. What a pity that there are not labourers for such a great and delightful harvest!" Our business, however, is mainly with the condition of Tanjore at a much more recent date. But before we pass on to these matters, we have a glimpse of the state of the mission some thirty years after the death of its founder. In 1834, Macaulay wrote home from his summer quarters in the Nilgheries † :—

By all that I can learn the Catholics are the most respectable portion of the native Christians. As to Swartz's people in the Tanjore, they are a perfect scandal to the religion which they profess. It would have been thought something little short of blasphemy to say this a year ago; but now it is considered impious to say otherwise, for they have got into a violent quarrel with the missionaries and the bishop. The missionaries refused to recognize the distinctions of caste in the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the bishop supported them in the refusal. I do not pretend to judge whether this was right or wrong. Swartz and Bishop Heber conceived that the distinction of caste, however objectionable politically, was still only a distinction of rank; and that as in English churches the gentlefolk generally take the sacrament apart from the poor of the parish, so the high-caste natives might be allowed to communicate apart from the pariahs. But whoever was first in the wrong, the Christians of Tanjore took care to be most so. They called in the interposition of Government, and sent up such petitions and memorials as I never saw before or since; made up of lies, invectives, bragging, cant, bad grammar of the most ludicrous kind, and texts of Scripture quoted without the smallest application. I remember one passage by heart, which is really only a fair specimen of the whole:—"These missionaries, my lord, loving only filthy lucre, bid us eat Lord supper

\* "Memoirs of Swartz," ii. 441.

† "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," ed. 1878, vol. i. pp. 383, 384.

with pariahs as lives ugly, handling dead men, drinking rack and toddy, sweeping the streets, mean fellows altogether, base persons, contrary to that which St. Paul saith: 'I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' . . . I could not help saying to one of the missionaries who is here on the hills, that I thought it a pity to break up the church of Tanjore on account of a matter which Swartz and Heber had not been inclined to regard as essential. "Sir," said the reverend gentleman, "the sooner the church of Tanjore is broken up the better. You can form no notion of the worthlessness of the native Christians there." I could not dispute the point with him; but neither could I help thinking, though I was too polite to say so, that it was hardly worth the while of so many good men to come 15,000 miles over sea and land in order to make proselytes, who, their very instructors being judges, were more children of hell than before.

Let us now see if matters have improved much in fifty years in this the oldest Protestant mission in India. The last census (1881) gives the following religious statistics for the Tanjore district. Out of a total population of 2,130,383, there are 1,939,421 Hindus, 112,058 Mohammedans, and 78,258 Christians. Of the Christians, no less than 67,292 are returned as Roman Catholics; and of some seventeen hundred Christians the precise denomination is not stated. This leaves some 9,000 non-Catholics who are thus divided among the sects:—

"Protestants" . . .	5,705	of whom	5,208	are natives*
Lutherans . . .	2,240	"	2,162	" "
Church of England . .	990	"	743	" "
Wesleyans . . .	183	"	142	" "
Presbyterians . . .	94	"	91	" "
Methodists . . .	11	"	11	" "
Congregationalists . .	10	"	10	" "
Church of Scotland . .	1	(a Eurasian)		
Total . . .	9,234		8,367	

The Church of England does not appear to great advantage in this list, but probably some of the 5,705 who are returned simply as "Protestants" belong to the S.P.G. mission. Of the Catholics, 65,745 are natives, against 8,367 native Protestants. We now compare these last figures with the results of the preceding census:—

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\* "Natives" are Hindus, to the exclusion of Eurasians, who, however, are a mere handful in Tanjore.

TANJORE DISTRICT.	NATIVE CHRISTIANS.	
	Catholics.	Protestants.
1871 . . . . .	54,884	10,378
1881 . . . . .	65,745	8,367
Increase . . . . .	10,861	...
Decrease . . . . .	...	2,011

From these figures it would appear that not only is the Catholic Church in possession of the field in Tanjore, and making steady progress, but that, despite the various agencies employed for so long a period, the Protestants are a small body, much divided amongst themselves, and that during the last ten years they have decreased by one-fifth of their whole number. These ten years include the period of the famous Tinnevely "harvest," but Tanjore was not a famine district, and there was no "harvest" to be reaped there. If we turn to the Reports of the S.P.G., we find some explanation of this decay of the once boasted mission of Swartz at Tanjore. The Reports we refer to are not those which are read at May meetings, and distributed here in England, but the Reports of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the Society, and especially the facts communicated to the committee by the Rev. W. H. Blake, of Tanjore. It is only of very recent years that we have these outspoken accounts of a state of things which is of by no means recent origin. This is often the way with these mission reports. Things are put in the most hopeful light until the collapse comes, and has to be explained.

In the Report for 1877-78 the Rev. A. Manuel writes from Tanjore:\*

On perusing the returns of the year, I find that the number of the congregation is less than what it was in the preceding years, and this I believe is attributable to the fact that the names of such persons as are employed in other places, and those of their families (all belonging to Tanjore), were also included in the returns prepared for those years. The present returns show only the actual number of the congregation now residing in the town. As to the state of the congregation I can say that the members are in general earnest in their religious duties and many of them show by their lives that they have the essence of Christianity and that spiritual religion grows in them. . . . Besides the congregation at Tanjore, there are others in twenty-three villages, but the number of members in each is small.

We have italicised one passage, as we shall soon hear a very different story from Mr. Blake. Mr. Manuel's Report represents just the hopeful *couleur-de-rose* view which is usually kept up

\* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee, 1877-78, pp. 94, 95.



(not necessarily in bad faith) till the very last moment. The first part of his Report shows that the same men may appear twice in the mission statistics—first, in their place of origin, and, secondly, in their place of residence. In the same report the Rev. M. Gnanakam writes from Negapatam (in the Tanjore district), to complain of the difficulties caused by Lutheran emissaries from Tranquebar. "Our people," he says, "are often tempted to join them by their boarding schools and paying system." We shall presently see that the S.P.G. has itself "a paying system" of long standing in this very district of Tanjore.

Three years later we have the first admissions of failure. The Rev. W. H. Kay reports in the returns for 1880–81 a falling-off in some of the village congregations attached to Tanjore. This he attributes to an insufficient supply of pastors—a single native clergyman (Mr. Manuel) having to do the work that was formerly assigned to three missionaries and three native pastors. In the same year the Rev. M. Gnanakam again reports troubles caused by the Lutherans of Tranquebar, and repeats his complaints of the evil done by their "paying system."

The Report for the following year (1881–82) is signed by the Rev. W. H. Blake, "priest-in-charge" of Tanjore. Mr. Blake is evidently a man who looks facts in the face boldly. His Report admits at once that there has been failure rather than success, and the details he gives throw a curious light on the system employed in drawing up mission statistics:—\*

The Tanjore Mission for the last few years has been gradually and steadily becoming weaker and weaker. It has, I hope and trust, this year reached its lowest ebb. Only five years ago there were four European clergy, five native clergy and one European layman, in these districts where at present there is one European missionary and one native clergyman. . . . Under these circumstances, and considering there has also been a large reduction in the number of catechists and schoolmasters employed, owing to the difficulty of procuring competent and suitable men for the work, it is not wonderful that very little progress has been made in the district, and the work remained almost stationary. And considering that we are surrounded by active vigilant Lutherans, *ever seeking what S.P.G. sheep they can ensnare and devour*, ready to take advantage of our weakness, and themselves seemingly rich in mission agents and money, it is a matter of congratulation to be able to report that, although there has been no increase, there has been no decrease, at least, in that way. There has no doubt been some falling-off in numbers when we compare the statistics given in the annual returns, statistics in some cases cannot well be compared unless you know they have been drawn up by the same person and on the same lines. I

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\* Madras Diocesan Committee's Report, 1881–82, pp. 95, &c.

remember learning something about this, when for the first time making out the returns for Combaconam\* six years ago, when I found, to my surprise, that there were five congregations in the town of Combaconam itself, although there were not more than eight or ten families, and they all attended one church. On asking for an explanation, I was told that as they lived in different parts of the town, which was considered to be made up of five villages (or parishes, or wards, as it were), they really lived in five separate villages, and those who lived in one village properly were one village or congregation; so in Combaconam itself there were five congregations reckoned, where I only considered there was one. In the same way, every separate or straggling family in the district, not forming part of a larger body of Christians, was, *and is*, called a separate village or congregation; and as many of our Christian families are scattered about in this way, the sixty-one congregations entered in the Tanjore returns for this year and the last would dwindle down considerably if these were left out of the reckoning. I thought it better to leave it this year as it was last year, as no material change has taken place, but do not consider it a satisfactory mode of reckoning. In the same way I used to be surprised at the numbers given in the church register of the attendance at the services until I found that "souls" was taken in its literal sense, and that an attendance of twenty souls meant very often one man, two women, three or four infants in arms, and some fourteen or fifteen small children, who chiefly came to play, and ran in and out, but were useful to make up the average attendance for the year.

He goes on to say that in the Tanjore district all that remains is "the ruins of a splendid mission," and speaks of former mission stations at Amiappen, Vellum, and VEDIARPURAM, "where now not a Christian is to be found." Probably Mr. Blake means "not a Protestant," for there are Catholics to be found throughout the whole district. These mission reports, however, hardly condescend to take any notice of Catholics as such. The chief losses, he tells us, took place some twenty-five or thirty years ago, when many, on account of questions of caste, or disputes about discipline deserted to the Lutherans. Here we are reminded of what Lord Macaulay wrote home in 1835. There were other losses of the same kind at a more recent date. All these explanations, however, must fall short of the real facts. If Tanjore has lost only by defections to Lutheranism, there ought to be no decrease in the total number of Protestants in the district. Nay, there should be an increase, the result of the ordinary increase of population. But what we find in the census returns is a decrease of from 10,000 to 8,000 in ten years. This means simply that more than 2,000 souls must have either become Catholics or gone back to Paganism.

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\* Combaconam belongs to the Tanjore mission.

A little further on in this important Report, much light is thrown on the real source of the weakness of the once famous Tanjore mission. Its founder Swartz was a Lutheran, employed by an Anglican society at a time when it was much easier to find money than missionaries at home in England. Swartz never preached the doctrines of the Church of England, and when later on Anglican missionaries appeared in the district, they found the Lutherans too strongly in possession to be easily driven from it. Nay the old Lutheran leaven was at work in their own congregations. Thus the mission of Tanjore is divided against itself. But Swartz left another fatal legacy. The grants made to him by the Rajah Tuljaji and his successor have become the basis of "a paying system" in the S.P.G. mission, quite as real and quite as mischievous as the paying system of the Lutherans, which the S.P.G. Reports so often denounce. Let us hear Mr. Blake on this matter. We are still quoting from his Report for 1881-2.\*

An unpleasant estrangement between the missionary and the congregation has unfortunately been caused this year by a contention about the right to the land outside the Church compound on which they live: this they have chosen to regard as an attempt on the part of the missionary to deprive them of their just rights, and to obtain some authority over them. As we and our predecessors here understand the matter, the land was given to Father Schwartz [*sic*] for the use of the native Christians of his congregation who came and, with his permission, settled on the land, which became quite a small and complete parish; and therefore the missionary of the place, as the representative of Father Schwartz, is the trustee of this land, and should, and has, more or less, exercised some control over the disposal of the land. We want them therefore to pay a nominal rent in acknowledgment of this right, to prevent any uncertainty in future. They, however, maintain that it was given by the Rajah by a wave of the hand, to the Christians themselves on their asking him for some land on his way to Rameswaram, and that the missionary has no control over it; and they resist any interference on his part. The leading spirits in the matter are the members of the Lutheran congregation who are living on the land, and who are afraid that they will suffer and be liable to be turned off, if it is settled that the S.P.G. missionary has any control over the land. They made an attempt to claim the land for their congregation only on the ground that their missionary was the representative and successor of Father Schwartz in this place, forgetting that though Father Schwartz was a German and Lutheran he was the missionary of an English Society in Tanjore, which Society has always had a succession of missionaries here from his time, whereas the Lutherans here are a schismatic

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\* P. 97, &c.

*body only dating back from the year 1849. That attempt therefore was easily settled.*

It was fortunate for the S.P.G. that their success in this dispute did not depend on the logic of their representative, Mr. Blake. The Lutherans might well have asked if schism consisted in being employed by some society other than the S.P.G. Certain it is that Lutheranism was preached in the Tanjore district a hundred years before Anglicanism; that Swartz, of whom Mr. Blake claims to be the successor, preached no other doctrine than that now preached by his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists, the Lutherans, who now oppose Mr. Blake; and that it is Anglicanism and not Lutheranism that is new to the district, Mr. Blake's Ritualism being the newest phase of all. The S.P.G. missionary now apparently holds Lutheranism to be an evil thing, and laments that S.P.G. sheep are carried off by Lutheran wolves. It is not so long since "Lutheran wolves" were receiving the S.P.G. pay, and this not merely as watch-dogs, but as "pastors" of the fold in Tanjore.

Unluckily for the mission the dispute about the lands near the church compound is not the only money difficulty with which it has had to deal. For years there has been another dispute about the lands at Shadayangal, where the tenants of the mission were in a state of chronic arrears with their rent. In 1881-82, out of seventeen tenants, five appear to have been successfully evicted, and proceedings against two more were nearly completed. Mr. Blake also got possession of nine house sites in the village, but there were still heavy arrears to be collected, and prospect of much tiresome litigation.

If it is difficult to persuade a Tanjore Christian even to pay his rent to the mission, no wonder that it is not easy to get much from him in the way of voluntary contributions. Mr. Blake, after reporting that something has been done by his flock in support of their churches, adds that "as the Christians of Tanjore have been brought up on the principle that it is the duty of the mission to support them, and supply them at least with a catechist's place when in want, to get them to do much in the way of self-support will be a work of time."

Mr. Blake again supplies the Report for 1882-83, and gives further details on many of the points touched upon in the preceding years. We hear more of the land disputes, and of the mercenary character of the native converts. He attributes the "weak and crippled state of the mission" partly to "the insufficient supply of missionaries," and partly to "the system in which the people have been brought up." This last is evidently the chief source of weakness.

In Tanjore the early missionaries had much influence with the

Rajahs, and were able to get much help for their people, and for the work; and consequently they did not require anything from the people themselves. The people have therefore always considered it the duty of the mission to help them, and do everything for them, and that it is their duty to receive. Even in Tanjore itself the answer to any requests for subscriptions for any church work has always been "why should they give when there are Swartz's funds?" They seemed to have an idea that these were inexhaustible, sufficient to cover all possible expenses for ever, and to board and educate their children free, support their poor and widows, pay for all expenses connected with the church and its services, and afford salaries for an unlimited supply of native clergy, catechists, and schoolmasters.\*

Elsewhere he tells how for the first Sunday or two after his arrival at Combaconam in the Tanjore district, the poor people used to stand up in line after service, with their hands stretched out, like beggars, and they expected more on a Communion Sunday than for an ordinary service. The result of refusing to continue paying in this direct way, appears to have been a number of secessions to Lutheranism. Mr. Blake reports a conversation which he had in a village near Combaconam where all the adherents of the S.P.G. had fallen off in this way. They now said

they would like to come back to the old mission and the old church in which they had been baptized and married; but the Lutheran missionaries were very kind to them, like the old S.P.G. missionaries, and did more for them than we did now; and that they were very poor people and wanted much help, but if we would help them like the Lutherans and give them something for coming to church, and some clothes on festivals, they would be very glad at once to come back. I asked them who helped their heathen and Roman neighbours, who were in the same state as themselves, and somehow managed to give something to their priests rather than receive anything from them: † and said that if that were the Lutheran *vatham* (religion) and they were satisfied, they had better remain where they were at present.

From all this it would appear that the Lutherans, who form the largest portion of the Protestant body in Tanjore, pay their adherents openly and directly; it would seem that this was formerly also the practice in the S.P.G. mission, but that now what help is given is more indirect, the converts looking for some share in "Father Swartz's Fund" in the way of employment, occupation

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\* M.D.C. Report, 1882-83, p. 27.

† There is another incidental reference to the Catholics of the Tanjore district in this Report of Mr. Blake. Speaking of the village of Anthanoor he says:—"I should like to have a native clergyman stationed there. He would also be able to work in the southern part of this district, which is now quite untouched by any mission work, except of course the Romans, who are everywhere" (p. 28).

of mission lands, and the support of their children in boarding schools.

Mr. Blake has more to tell of the curious system on which mission statistics are drawn up, and we hear once more of "congregations" made up of a single family or even of a single individual, but what we have already quoted on this subject from an earlier Report will suffice for our purpose. From another part of the Report it appears that up to the Midsummer of 1883 the land case—that is, the dispute about the settlement near the Tanjore church compound—was still unsettled. It had been carried to the High Court of Madras, and pastors and people were still waiting for a decision. There is much, too, about the actual condition of the Tanjore Protestants which we shall have to notice a little later.

We pass on to Mr. Blake's Report for the year 1883-84—the latest that we have received. The Tanjore land dispute is still going on, and Mr. Blake writes :\*—

As long as the land case remains unsettled, it is difficult for the work among the congregation to go on satisfactorily and pleasantly. Any one, missionary, pastor, or catechist, who supports the claims of the mission to the land, is regarded by the congregation as antagonistic to their rights and interests. So, in matters of charity, as in subscribing to the Pastor's Endowment Fund, it is not to be expected that they will contribute freely and liberally to assist in the work of the mission, when the mission, as they think, is seeking to deprive them of their rights, and their money may be required to defend themselves against the injustice of the mission.

This year a new rule of the S.P.G. came into force, by which native congregations were to subscribe one-half of their pastor's salary, but in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of Tanjore congregations in that district were called upon to provide only one-fifth instead of one-half. But even so Mr. Blake was not very hopeful as to the amount being collected. Of two of his congregations he remarks that "these people rather expect that their pastor should spend some two or three rupees on them."† While we are dealing with financial matters, we may notice an ingenious device adopted in Tanjore in order to economize on the cost of catechists. In the words of the Report:—"To encourage the catechists in their evangelistic work a small portion of their salary is given them in tracts, and *only by persuading people to buy their tracts* they will be able to realize their full salary." This plan seems to have been adopted to meet a reduction on the grant for catechists made by the Madras Diocesan Committee. Considering that the catechists had already to pay away a certain

\* Report, 1883-84, p. 17.

† P. 15.

portion of their salaries in the form of so-called "voluntary" contributions to the mission, their present position cannot be a very flourishing one.

But the probability is that, badly as these catechists are paid, they receive quite as much as they are worth. In various Reports we are told that, "with one or two exceptions, they are not qualified for evangelistic work, except among the lowest class of the population"—that the missionaries are "painfully conscious that their agents are not what they should be"—and the annual examinations of agents and candidates for the post of agent betray an ignorance of the elementary truths of Christianity that is simply astounding. When such are the teachers, what can the disciples be? Here we have something very like the blind leading the blind. We have seen what a flattering report the native pastor, Mr. Manuel, gave of the Tanjore Protestants in 1878, but our candid friend, Mr. Blake, writing in 1883, is more clear-sighted and more outspoken. Here is what he has to say of a considerable portion of his flock :†—

It may easily be understood that when Christians are so scattered and mixed up with the heathen, always being in a minority in a village, and sometimes obliged to look for wives among their heathen relatives, and where they are at the same time so poor and ignorant, belonging (with the exception of the Canendogudy and Aneycadu people and some of the Tanjore congregation) to the lowest class, and where the mission agents, the catechists, and schoolmasters, as a rule, are so inferior in intellectual attainments, as is shown by the results of the annual examinations, as well as in spiritual qualifications, as shown by the results of their work—that not much can be expected in the way of spiritual life in these district congregations. I am afraid that many, especially those who live by themselves amongst the heathen, are merely nominal Christians, and are more influenced by their heathen neighbours and surroundings than able to influence others for good.‡

One of the worst features of the Protestant community in this district, and one which gives the missionaries not a little trouble, is what Mr. Blake describes as "lax views and practice with regard to marriage." There are many cases of husbands and wives separated and living with others, while the rest of the congregation countenance the scandal, and seem to see no very

\* 1883-4, p. 14.

† 1882-3, p. 29.

‡ In the same Report we hear something not quite to the credit of the still more famous Tinnevely mission—viz., "I should mention that in several places [in Tanjore district] the catechists have come accidentally upon Tinnevely Christians who have come up to those parts for work or commerce, and settled amongst the heathen, and seem to be living as heathen. I presume that such were not very good Christians at home."



great harm in the arrangement. There is also a tendency to keep up or revive pagan marriage customs, and to marry girls under age. Another point is the readiness of native Christians to marry within the forbidden degrees. This last failing is a source of peculiar anxiety to the chief pastor of Tanjore.

In this matter [he writes] former missionaries do not appear to have been very strict. What has been done by a missionary the people consider can be, and ought to be, done by a missionary if they wish it, especially as it is still done by Lutherans on one side, and by Romans on the other. It is difficult to get them to understand that, as members of the Church, and connected with the English Communion, they are placed in a disadvantageous position: that the Church of England, unlike the Lutherans, accepts the laws of the Catholic Church, but does not, like the Romans, accept a dispensing power in such matters. In one village in those districts, where we have a large congregation, and where is also a large Lutheran congregation of schismatics, the Lutheran pastor is married to his deceased wife's sister, who left and has been divorced from her own husband.

It must indeed be difficult for Mr. Blake to make his flock understand this curious theory of their "disadvantageous position" in reference to the impediment of consanguinity. But facts like the last quoted show to what a scandalous extent the Christian law of marriage is disregarded in the Tanjore mission. It is quite evident from Mr. Blake's reports that he is making a very determined stand against this disgraceful state of things, and he believes that there is already some improvement. The great difficulty, however, is that the Lutherans permit a strange laxity in this respect, and a remonstrance on the subject from the Anglican missionary may end in a whole family going off to the Lutheran pastor.

A further difficulty arises from mixed marriages, not merely marriages with the Lutheran "schismatics," but marriages with pagans. It seems that the Tanjore missionaries formerly encouraged this kind of marriage in the case of their young men, recommending them to take a pagan wife and convert her. Indeed it must often be by no means easy to avoid such marriages, where the converts are a small and scattered flock; but to tolerate what is unavoidable is a very different thing from encouraging a practice as a means of evangelisation. Mr. Blake holds that these pagan marriages could and should be avoided, and he sees in them the source of many of the calamities of the mission.

Here indeed [he says]\* is the explanation of a good deal that is unsatisfactory in the Christianity of Tanjore Christians. They have

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\* 1883-4, p. 17.

never come out from among their heathen connections; rather have strengthened and kept these up by this custom, recommended, I am told, by the old missionaries, to "convert" a girl, of course one of their own relatives, and marry her. This, of course, means a heathen mother-in-law, and a heathen mother-in-law means more or less of heathen ceremonies introduced into the house in connection with important family events, and a corresponding combination in the religious education of the children.

No wonder that under these circumstances there are so many merely nominal Christians to be found in the Tanjore congregations, and that one hears occasionally of a whole village, with the exception of one or two families, relapsing into paganism.

To sum up—the Tanjore mission may be said to be that in which Indian Protestantism has been longest on its trial. There, for more than century, the Gospel of the Reformation has been preached. The founder of the mission was a man of exceptional gifts, and singularly high character. He enjoyed the favour both of the native rajahs and the English rulers of the district, and he was able from the very outset to secure valuable grants for the endowment of the native church. What is the result of all this after a single century—not growth, but decay. We have a body of Protestants, divided among several sects, and rapidly diminishing in numbers. Many of them avowedly are Christians only from mercenary motives. Their fathers have lived upon the mission funds, and, despite the protests of the present missionaries, they claim the right to do the same, and there is a Tanjore land question in which the rival parties are the pastors and the people. In ten years one native Protestant in every five has disappeared from the rolls of the mission. Of those that are left many have changed from one sect to another, to escape from a more rigid to a more lax moral discipline. Most of them are very ignorant, the catechists in many instances as ignorant as the people; and there is widespread immorality, a loose theory and practice in regard to marriage, and a pagan element in the family life of many nominally Christian households. It is the ruin of a mission that was once appealed to as a standing proof of the missionary power of Protestantism. These are the fruits of the labours of a century. "By their fruits you shall know them." Does it look as if the blessing of God is on the Protestant missions of Tanjore?

To read the Reports that are published each May in England by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel no one would suspect that this was the state of things in Tanjore. There is usually a word or two about the ordination of a native pastor, or some other satisfactory incident, and that is all. In the last Report published, that for 1885 (issued May 1886) we read:—

The Tanjore circle of missions is one the Report of which is turned to by many with great interest, partly because of the connection of Tanjore with the Society's early missions, and partly because of the energetic and devotional character of the work carried on by the Rev. W. H. Blake and his assistants.

Then comes some news about the Tanjore College, and an account of some ordinations. The facts we have given in this article are derived partly from the Census Returns, partly from the Annual Reports of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. These Reports are not very easy to obtain even in India by the general public,\* and in England they are very seldom seen. The series of the S.P.G. May Reports for some fifty years is to be found complete in the British Museum. So far as we can ascertain, the Madras Diocesan Reports are represented there by a very imperfect series which ceases abruptly in 1862. A few extracts from Mr. Blake's Reports might be included with advantage in the little volume that is annually laid before the May meetings. Mr. Blake is clearly an honest, energetic man, who will not send in the usual doubtful statistics, and who will not say peace where there is no peace. The strange thing is that these frank statements have only appeared of recent years, and the evil is of very old standing. We have seen how, as late as 1878, the native pastor Manuel used smooth phrases to keep up appearances in his Report. One wonders how some other Indian missions would look if a plain-spoken man like Mr. Blake were allowed to report on them. Unfortunately, such reports seldom see the light until the evil is becoming notorious, and must be explained rather than concealed. The mission of Tanjore has lived too long on the fame of its founder Swartz. The truth about it has already been spoken in India; it is time that it should be spoken also in England.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

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\* They are not published; and cannot be had from the booksellers. They have a kind of domestic or private circulation. A few copies are sent to England to the head-quarters of the S.P.G.

### ART. III.—THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE.

1. *The English Constitution.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. Fourth Edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.
2. *Popular Government.* By Sir H. S. MAINE. London: J. Murray. 1885.
3. *The English Parliament in its Transformations through a Thousand Years.* By Dr. R. GNEIST. Translated by R. JENERY SHEE. London: Grevel & Co. 1886.
4. *The Constitutional History of England (1760–1860).* By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY. Sixth Edition. London: Longmans & Co. 1878.
5. *English Constitutional History.* By T. P. TASWELL-LANGMEAD. Second Edition. London: Stevens & Haynes. 1880.

THE recent discussions on Federation and the government of Ireland have turned men's attention to the study of the English Constitution. Those who approach these questions dispassionately and with no view to party purposes, see at once the necessity of an accurate knowledge of the system which these proposals are intended to modify. Yet no one can wade through the flood of literature and oratory on these subjects without perceiving how few of the writers and speakers really understood what they attacked or defended. There is indeed some excuse for this ignorance. Most English institutions are hard to understand. They have not come forth ready-made from the brains of political philosophers. They are the growth of ages. They are cumbersome and defective, and they bear about them the marks of their barbaric origin. But the English Constitution—the boast of every Englishman, the envy of every foreigner—has the additional difficulty of being a gigantic sham. “The Queen's Government” is such only in the sense that it governs the Queen. “Her Majesty's Ministers” are Her Majesty's masters. “The Queen's Speech” is seldom spoken and never written by her. Our law-books recognize no such person as the “Prime Minister,” and no such council as the “Cabinet.” In short, the English Constitution is one thing in theory and quite another thing in practice.

The Theory of the English Constitution has been set forth in a masterly fashion by Montesquieu, in a famous chapter of his “*Esprit des Lois*” (liv. xi. c. 6). The powers of government, he

says, are threefold, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. By the first the prince or magistrate makes new laws, and corrects or repeals existing laws. By the second he makes peace and war, sends and receives embassies, and establishes public security. By the third he punishes crimes, and decides the dissensions of individuals. When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or body of persons there is no liberty, because tyrannical laws can be carried out tyrannically. So, too, there is no liberty when the judicial power is not separated from the legislative and executive. All is lost if the same man, or the same body of princes, nobles, or people, exercises all three powers. In other words, liberty depends on the separation of the three powers, and not on the form of government, whether it be monarchy, oligarchy, aristocracy, or democracy. The English Constitution entrusts these powers to three distinct bodies, and is therefore free. And now I had better continue in the words of Blackstone, who has to some extent followed Montesquieu.

As with us the executive power of the laws is lodged in a single person (the King), they have all the advantages of strength and dispatch, that are to be found in the most absolute monarchy; and as the legislature of the kingdom is entrusted to three distinct powers, entirely independent of each other: first, the sovereign; secondly, the lords spiritual and temporal, which is an aristocratical assembly of persons selected for their piety, their birth, their wisdom, their valour or their property; and thirdly, the House of Commons, freely chosen by the people from among themselves, which makes it a kind of democracy: as this aggregate body, actuated by different springs and attentive to different interests, composes the British Parliament and has the supreme disposal of everything, there can no inconvenience be attempted by either of three branches, but will be withstood by one of the other two; each branch being armed with a negative power, sufficient to repel any innovation which it shall think inexpedient or dangerous. . . . If the supreme power were lodged in any one of the three branches separately, we must be exposed to the inconveniences of either absolute monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy. . . . But the constitutional government of this island is so admirably tempered and compounded, that nothing can endanger or hurt it but destroying the equilibrium of power between one branch of the legislature and the rest. *For if ever it should happen that the independence of any one of the three should be lost, or that it should become subservient to the views of either of the other two, there would soon be an end of our Constitution.\** [The italics are mine.]

\* "Commentaries on the Laws of England," Introduction, section ii. Blackstone considers the administration of justice to be part of the executive. "And as by our excellent constitution the sole executive power of the laws is vested in the Sovereign, it will follow that all courts

According to Montesquieu and Blackstone, then, the excellence of the English Constitution consists (1) in the separation of the powers of government, and (2) in the co-ordination (not subordination) of the three elements of the legislative. Tacitus had said that a mixed government could not be permanent. Blackstone triumphantly answers:—"The British Constitution has long remained (and may it long continue) a standing exception to the truth of this observation." And Montesquieu: "Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois" among those very Germans whose manners and customs Tacitus has so accurately described.

Our constitutional terminology fits in exactly with this theory. So, too, does the ceremony of procedure. The Queen still opens Parliament with all the pomp handed down from the days of the Plantagenets. Her throne is erected in that Upper House which alone she deigns to visit. When she is seated, her faithful Commons are summoned to attend. A stampede is heard, and then a crowd of puffing commoners, clad in every-day garb, comes rushing into the brilliant assembly of princes and peers. But they are not permitted to proceed far. They are obliged to remain standing at the end of the chamber while Her Majesty reads her gracious speech. She informs her hearers of the state of the country, and of her relations with the different foreign powers. The Commons are then specially thanked for the liberality of their supplies in the past, and are asked for further contributions. Lastly, she enumerates the chief legislative proposals to be laid before both Houses.\* The Commons then retire to the plain green benches of their own House and discuss what answer they shall make to her Majesty's requests. The process of legislation is also in accordance with the theory of the Constitution. No Bill can become law until it has passed

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of justice (which are the medium by which he administers the laws) are derived from the power of the Crown. . . . In all the courts the Sovereign is supposed, in contemplation of law, to be always present; but as that is in fact impossible, he is there represented by his judges, whose power is only an emanation of the royal prerogative" (*Ibid.* book iii. chap. iii.). The Plantagenet kings and even queens often presided in the law-courts and decided cases. James I. sat personally in court and attempted to interfere, but was silenced by Lord Chief Justice Coke. There is, however, very little difference between Blackstone's and Montesquieu's views. The connection between the executive and the judicial powers had (with some important exceptions) so long been practically obsolete that Montesquieu might fairly maintain that the spirit of the English Constitution required their separation.

\* This last portion of the Queen's Speech is somewhat anomalous. It is a sign of the junction of the legislative and executive powers which will be mentioned further on.

both Houses and has received the assent of the Sovereign. Moreover, if any one offends against the law, he is said to break the Queen's peace. If he joins the Army or Navy he enters the service of the Queen. The officers of State are her Majesty's Ministers. She sends her ambassadors to every Court, and appoints consuls in the great seaports. It is she who declares war and makes peace. But all these ceremonies and modes of speech represent a state of things which no longer exists. The ancient forms survive although their spirit has departed. The intelligent foreigner who gazes with admiration at the splendid pageant of the opening of Parliament little dreams that the plainly dressed men huddled together below the bar are the representatives of an assembly which rules the Queen, the Lords, and the mighty British Empire.

For the practice of the Constitution is in flat contradiction to the theory. In theory, the legislative and executive are separated—in practice, they are joined together. In theory, the three branches of the legislature are equal—in practice, one is supreme. The youngest branch, the House of Commons, has outgrown the other two. It possesses overwhelming influence in legislation, and it has acquired the whole executive power. But the House is too big to wield its powers directly. It therefore entrusts them to a select committee—the Cabinet, the chairman of which is the Prime Minister. This personage is unknown to the theory of the Constitution. His name implies that he is the chief servant of the Queen: in reality he is the President of the British Republic. He is chosen by the people by a roundabout process. When the general elections take place there are usually two parties before the country with rival programmes and rival chiefs. The electors, in voting for the different candidates, are really voting for one or other of the rival programmes and chiefs. Thus in 1880 the choice lay between "Beaconsfield and Imperialism" and "Gladstone and Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." When the House meets there is, of course, no formal election of a Prime Minister. But it is understood that there is some one man whom the majority of the House look up to as their leader.\* Her Majesty is then "pleased" to summon him to her councils and to entrust to him the formation of a Ministry. Accordingly he chooses a number of persons, usually members of one or other House, and distributes the various offices among them. Of these Ministers a certain number, about fourteen or fifteen, are summoned to

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\* He need not necessarily be a member of the House of Commons, but he must have the confidence and support of a majority of that House.



seats in the Cabinet. The late Mr. Bagehot\* has given an admirable description of this mysterious institution :—

The Cabinet, in a word, is a board of control chosen by the Legislature, out of persons whom it trusts and knows, to rule the nation. The particular mode in which the English Ministers are selected, the fiction that they are in any political sense the Queen's servants, the rule which limits the choice of the Cabinet to the members of the Legislature—are accidents unessential to its definition—historical incidents separable from its nature. Its characteristic is that it should be chosen by the Legislature out of persons agreeable to and trusted by the Legislature. . . . A Cabinet is a combining committee—a *hyphen* which joins, a *buckle* which fastens, the legislative part of the State to the executive part of the State. In its origin it belongs to the one, in its functions it belongs to the other.

Practically, then, the royal authority is in commission. We still have a Sovereign, but she reigns and does not govern. Her power has passed to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. They compose the Queen's speech. They make war and peace. They arrange the amount of the revenue, and the manner of collecting and spending it. They draw up the list of Bills to be proposed to the Houses. The Queen's ambassadors are really the ambassadors of the Cabinet, and the army and navy are its servants. Everything is of course carried on in the Queen's name, but, as Mr. Bagehot says, she is only the *dignified* part of the Government—the *efficient* part is the Cabinet.

The relations between the House of Commons and the Cabinet are very peculiar. Theoretically, the House is a merely legislative assembly. Practically, it is an assembly which elects the executive. But it still keeps a check on its most famous select committee. An adverse vote can dissolve the Cabinet and dethrone the Prime Minister. He, in his turn, can dissolve the House and appeal to the nation. Thus in the present year (1886) the vote on Mr. Collings' amendment dissolved the Salisbury Cabinet; but when the Home Rule Bill was rejected Mr. Gladstone dissolved the House and appealed to the country. These relations between the House of Commons and the Cabinet enable us to understand certain anomalies in the working of the Constitution. The rejection of a Government Bill does not in itself imply any want of confidence in the foreign policy of the Govern-

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\* "The English Constitution," 4th ed. pp. 13-14. I must here, once for all, acknowledge my great obligation to this excellent work. The writer had a happy facility of hitting off epigrammatic expressions easily understood and easily remembered. In his power of seeing through fictions he rivalled Bentham, but in his admiration for them he almost equalled Blackstone.

ment, nor does a vote of censure on the foreign policy in itself imply a disposition to reject the Government Bills. Nevertheless, the Russians may pour into India because a Ministry has been defeated on a Bill to provide the agricultural labourer with three acres and a cow. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, by opposing Mr. Gladstone's legislative proposals, have brought into power Lord Salisbury, whose executive policy they abhor.

The House of Lords has fallen from its high estate. It has ceased to be a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, and is now merely a drag on the Ministerial coach—useful when the course is downhill, but otherwise mischievous. Whenever the nation is in earnest, this obstacle is overcome, but it is not often that the nation is in earnest, and consequently the power of the Lords is not to be despised. By rejecting legislative proposals, they have upset many a Ministry, and have thereby exercised control over the executive. This control, however, is only indirect. A Government backed by a majority of the Commons can laugh at votes of want of confidence passed by the Lords. Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy was censured over and over again by the Upper House, but this made no difference in his tenure of power. It may be objected that the present head of the executive is a peer. This is merely an accident. He is Prime Minister not because he has the support of the house in which he sits, but because he has the support of the Commons.

While we are enumerating the different parts of the Constitution, we must not forget to mention the Queen. It is true, indeed, that she is no longer the executive, and that her veto on legislation is obsolete. Still, it would be a great mistake to consider her merely as an expensive ornament. She is most useful—not so much in her *person* as in her *dignity*. People sometimes complain that she does nothing. The answer is, that she does exactly what she is wanted to do—she exists. What enormous power accrues to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet from the fiction that they are the servants of the Queen, carrying on her Majesty's Government according to her Majesty's wishes! What would become of the army and navy if they found out that they were in the service, not of "our Sovereign lady the Queen," but of William Ewart Gladstone? Would our soldiers pour out their blood in his name? Would our sailors brave the perils of the deep for his honour and glory? Where would the Established Church be without its head? What should we do without that convenient epithet "disloyal" when speaking of the inhabitants of a neighbouring dependency? Nor must it be forgotten that the Sovereign in person may sometimes exert great influence. The Queen on a famous occasion put down the mighty Palmerston, and is said to have

induced Lord Salisbury to withdraw his opposition to the late Reform Bill. Indeed, there is no knowing how powerful a popular Sovereign might become. A William III., an Elizabeth, or even a George III. might recover some of the ancient prerogatives, and might once again not only reign, but also rule. Meantime, we may assert that the theory and practice of the English Constitution are utterly at variance. The separation of the functions of Government which called forth the praises of Montesquieu no longer exists. The changes dreaded by Blackstone have come to pass. "The equilibrium of power between one branch of the legislature and the rest" has been destroyed. The independence of two of the branches has been lost, and they have become subservient to the views of that branch which was the lowest. We can now only expect that there will "soon be an end of our Constitution."

Hitherto, I have been merely describing the theory and practice of the Constitution. We cannot, however, thoroughly understand the latter without studying the process by which it has been brought about. The English Constitution is not a machine, but an organism. It has not been made; it has grown. We must, therefore, proceed according to the historical and comparative methods which are followed in the study of organic beings. There will be no lack of "specimens." The seeds of the Constitution have been sown in many distant lands, and have sprung up and flourished with varying fortunes.

The latest written laws of the Constitution are the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. In these may be found the theory which is expounded in our law-books. And it may be affirmed that in the reign of William III. the practice of the Constitution was fairly in agreement with the theory. The king was the executive. He was his own Prime Minister and Commander-in-chief. He had, indeed, a Council of Ministers, but they were, as their name implied, his servants, not his masters. He was also the real head of the legislature. The Bill for Triennial Parliaments and the Place Bill were vetoed by him after they had been passed by the two Houses. The Lords were really a co-ordinate branch of the legislature. The Commons were not an executive body. They even tried to exclude the Ministers from their House by the Place Bill just mentioned, and at length succeeded in inserting a clause to that effect in the Act of Settlement.\* During the reign of Anne the theory and

\* "That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons." 12 & 13 Will. III. c. 2, s. 3; repealed by 4 & 5 Anne, c. 20, s. 28.

practice continued to agree. The Queen presided in person at the Councils of her Ministers, and exercised the veto on legislation. But at the accession of the House of Hanover a vast change took place. The new king owed his crown to the party which was unfavourable to the influence of the throne, and he was opposed by the party which was favourable to that influence. He was therefore compelled to allow the royal authority to be shorn of its former power. In truth the loss caused him little regret. England was to him merely an appendage to his beloved Hanover. His English Ministers supplied him with a revenue which seemed boundless wealth, but they could not expect him to take any interest in their discussions, especially as he did not understand the language in which they were carried on. Consequently, the councils were held without the king's presence, and this has ever since been the practice of the Constitution. "The presence of the king at the Cabinet," says a high authority (Mr. Gladstone: "Gleanings of Past Years," i. 85) "either means personal government—that is to say, the reservation to him of all final decisions which he may think fit to appropriate—or else the forfeiture of dignity by his entering upon equal terms into the arena of general, searching, and sometimes warm discussion." His absence, however, means that he will have no part in the government of the country. The real successor of Anne was not George I., but Robert Walpole.

It would not be possible within the compass of this article to give an adequate account of the origin and growth of the Cabinet Council.\* A short sketch will suffice for our present purpose. A council of some sort is a necessary part of every organized government. A single ruler is not enough to carry on the business of a country, and the people are too many. A small body of managers must therefore be appointed. When the King is their master, the government is a monarchy. When they are the servants of the people, the government is either an aristocracy or democracy. But when the managers are their own masters, there is an oligarchy. Before the Great Rebellion the government of England was sometimes monarchical, sometimes oligarchical, according to the character of the King and the Council, and sometimes almost aristocratical. The "Concilium Ordinarium" of the Plantagenets was a sort of permanent committee of the "Magnum Concilium," sitting for the despatch of executive, and sometimes also of judicial business. When the "Magnum Concilium"

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\* The subject may be studied in Mr. Dicey's Arnold Prize Essay, and in Professor Gneist's "English Parliament." The latter work may also be recommended for its treatment of the relation between early English and early German institutions, and above all for its account of the origin of Parliament.

became the Parliament, the "*Concilium Ordinarium*" lost its connexion with the legislative body, and become more united to the King, at one time as his servant, at another as his master. As might be expected, there soon arose a council within the Council, to which the King entrusted the more important and confidential affairs of State. This inner council was known as the Privy Council, and gradually acquired the control of the whole of the executive. During the reign of Charles II. a council was chosen by him within this inner council and was styled the "Cabinet." It was thus a committee of the Privy Council, selected by the Sovereign. Such it still is in theory. Its connection with the legislature is due to the Sovereign's desire to control the legislature by means of her servants, and also to the accidental circumstances at the time of the Hanoverian succession. Parliament had elected the King, and the King naturally chose his Ministers from Parliament.

The accession of George II. made no change in the Government. Walpole continued for nearly twenty years longer to rule the country, and when he fell it was because he had lost the confidence of Parliament. George III. struggled hard to win back the power that had been lost by his two predecessors, and indeed succeeded for some time. During the administration of Lord North, the King was the real Prime Minister. But the King's mismanagement and the folly of the Whigs only led to the dictatorship of the younger Pitt.

From the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty till the Reform Bill of 1832, a period of more than one hundred years, the English Constitution was mainly aristocratical. The House of Lords had considerable power, but the lords themselves had much more. A peer had only one vote in his own House, but he sometimes had half a dozen votes in the House of Commons. He was therefore not opposed to the growing power of the lower House. But when it was proposed to abolish the rotten boroughs and extend the franchise, he knew that his power was doomed. No Bill was ever sent up to the Lords which was more disliked by them. Had their House been really a co-ordinate branch of the legislature the Bill would never have passed. When they withdrew their opposition, they not merely consented to this particular measure, but they publicly admitted their inability to resist the determined demands of the Commons. Thus the lords have met with the same fate as the king. Both have been eliminated from the practical government of the country, which has now become a democracy under the guise of a monarchy.

The present condition of the Constitution will be better understood if we now compare it with the numerous copies of it.

The sturdy English colonists, Catholic and Puritan, fleeing from persecution, carried with them to their new home not only their little stores of household goods, but a treasure of great price. Wherever they went, their laws and their constitution accompanied them. Governments were set up, modelled after that which they had left behind. The Governor represented the Crown. He and his Ministers were the executive. The legislature was composed of the Governor and two Houses, the upper House appointed by him, and the lower House elected by the people. The history of the colonial constitutions is the history of the English constitution in miniature. The governors tried to give laws to the little senates. The upper Houses mimicked the state of their prototype, and the lower Houses rivalled the Commons in independence. Indeed, the loss of the American colonies was due to their assertion of a cherished English right. Rather than submit to taxation without representation, they broke away from the mother-country, and declared themselves independent. And now comes a matter of the greatest interest to the student of the English Constitution. The colonies in severing their connection with England had thereby broken the bond of union among themselves. It was, therefore, necessary to form a government to bring them together again. The English Constitution was their model. They had rebelled, we must remember, not so much against the Constitution as against King George and his Ministers. Besides, their local governments had been copied from it. Their great aim was to retain as much as possible of the spirit of the English Constitution, but to provide against a tyranny like that of George III. They took their ideas from Montesquieu and from the working of the Constitution during the Ministry of Lord North. Accordingly, they were careful to separate the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and to form two legislative chambers, the Senate and House of Representatives. The president was to stand in the place of the English king. He was to have a qualified veto on legislation, and in him was to be the chief executive power. As a security, however, against abuse, his office was to be elective, and for a term of only four years. He was to appoint his Ministers (by and with the advice and consent of the Senate), and it was distinctly enacted that no member of the executive should be a member of the legislature.\* And to make the

\* "No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office." Art. I. sec. vi. 2. Compare the similar provision in the Act of Settlement, *supra*.



distinction more marked, the President was to be elected by a process quite different from that by which the Legislature was to be elected. Stringent conditions were required for any change in the Constitution, and consequently few changes have taken place.\*

After the loss of the American colonies a new period of colonial history was entered upon. The colonies were henceforth to be nominally free, but really governed from Downing Street. Representative institutions were granted in 1785 to New Brunswick, in 1791 to the two Canadas, and later on to the Australian colonies. But the assemblies were controlled by the governors and the official aristocracy, who were the nominees and allies of the Home Government. Occasionally also the English ministers directly interfered. The rapid growth of the colonies and the Reform Bill of 1832 put an end to this system. A rebellion in Lower Canada brought matters to a crisis. Responsible government was introduced and has since become the rule in other free colonies. "By the adoption of this principle," says Sir Erskine May (*"Constitutional History of England,"* vol. iii. p. 368),

a colonial constitution has become the very image and reflection of parliamentary government in England. The governor, like the Sovereign whom he represents, holds himself aloof from, and superior to parties; and governs through constitutional advisers who have acquired an ascendancy in the legislature. He leaves contending parties to fight out their own battles; and by admitting the stronger party to his councils, brings the executive authority into harmony with popular sentiments. And as the recognition of this doctrine, in England, has practically transferred the supreme authority of the State from the Crown to Parliament and the people—so in the colonies has it wrested from the governor and from the parent State the direction of colonial affairs. And again, as the Crown has gained in ease and popularity what it has lost in power—so has the mother country, in accepting, to the full, the principle of local self-government, established the closest relations of amity and confidence between herself and her colonies.†

This short account of the English Constitution since the

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\* "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments; which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress." Art. V.

† As Sir Charles Gavan Duffy has said: "Canada did not obtain Home Rule because she was loyal, but she became loyal because she obtained Home Rule."



Revolution, and of the American and Colonial constitutions which were copied from it, leads us to a startling result. Most Englishmen of the present day look upon the American constitution as something altogether mysterious. They do not understand "Congress" and "caucuses," "tickets" and "platforms," "Democrats" and "Republicans." Part of the difficulty arises, no doubt, from the peculiar phraseology of American politics. Part also from the division of parties on the question of State rights. But the difficulty is due chiefly to the fact that a great change has taken place here at home. Fifty years ago Radical reformers used to be reproached with trying to "Americanize our institutions." The true Tory was known by his hearty distrust of everything "Yankee." Radicals and Tories have since changed places. To study the France of the *ancien régime* we must go to Lower Canada. In like manner we must cross over to New England to find the old English Constitution.

It is no part of my intention to discuss the comparative merits of the old and the new systems. Blackstone and Sir H. S. Maine may be consulted in favour of the old system and its American imitation, while Mr. Bagehot should be read in favour of the new. I have already alluded to some of the difficulties of the fusion of the legislative and executive powers. On the other hand the separation of these powers may produce a deadlock in the business of Government. When the executive and the legislature quarrel, or are not on good terms, the legislature will not grant what is required by the executive for carrying on the Government, and the executive will refuse to exercise powers entrusted to it. The struggle between President Johnson and the Congress after the Civil War deserves the closest attention of every student of political pathology.

At the beginning of this article it was remarked that the questions of Federation and Home Rule were drawing attention to the study of the English Constitution. I trust that what has here been said will be of help towards the right understanding of the real points at issue. Home Rule has been defined by Professor Dicey in his recent powerful work on the subject ("England's Case against Home Rule") as "the creation of an Irish Parliament which shall have legislative authority in matters of Irish concern, and of an Irish executive responsible (in general) for its acts to the Irish Parliament or the Irish people." That is to say, Ireland would stand exactly in the position of a Colony as above described. She would be just as much a part of the Empire as Canada is now. No "fundamental law of the Constitution" would be repealed. The theory and practice of the Constitution would still remain as at present. The area over which the English Parliament exercises direct control would indeed be

smaller than at present, but, in return, a number of questions which cut across the division of English parties would be got rid of, and a hundred obstructive members would be removed. Surely a change of this kind does not deserve the torrent of abuse that has been poured upon it. Strange to say, the other question, Federation, does involve vast changes in the Constitution, and yet is considered worthy of all praise. Federation requires that a distinction can be drawn between Imperial and non-Imperial matters. The Imperial Parliament should discuss Imperial questions, while non-Imperial questions should be discussed in the local Parliaments. When the legislative and executive powers are separated, this distinction can be drawn; but when they are united, every Imperial question becomes domestic, and every domestic question Imperial. Federation thus involves that the present practice of the Constitution should be completely changed. I do not mean to imply that this would be a change for the worse. I only wish to point out that whereas Home Rule is decried because it involves a vast change in the Constitution (which it does not), Federation, which does imply such a change, is lauded to the skies. Something, however, will have to be done. The state of the East may at any time lead to a war. England's difficulty will be Ireland's opportunity. Canada and New South Wales will rightly object to being dragged into war without being consulted. Federation or dismemberment must therefore come. Federation means prosperity, dismemberment means destruction. We shall soon be called upon to decide whether the New Zealander of the future is to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's from a broken arch of London Bridge, or to take his seat at Westminster in a senate representing the four quarters of the globe.

T. B. SCANNELL.

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#### ART. IV.—SHAKESPEARE AS AN ECONOMIST.

LITERATURE in these days for not a few has taken the place of religion; the heroes of literature receive a worship, which is in no way daunted by their moral shortcomings; and, if we wish to recommend our opinions among our cultured fellow-countrymen, it is no longer any use to seek "confirmations strong" in any "proofs of holy writ," for they have delivered up the Bible to the German critics, and we must rather have ready at hand some text out of the new gospel, and back our opinion by an apt quotation from Victor Hugo or Goethe. But

these are not the only names that can act as a spell to attract modern ears; and, at least for the English speaking world, the first place in all literature is still held by Shakespeare. Now this is fortunate; for in almost all points of religion and ethics, of politics and economics, on which Shakespeare touches—and he touches on many—he is an authority on the right side. True, indeed, that because Shakespeare, or Shelley, or Mr. Swinburne say a thing is so, this does not make it so; and the teachers of logic may shake their heads over a generation which refuses the rational belief in the Law of Nature, or in revealed religion, and then tries to make up for this irrational scepticism by an equally irrational belief in the poets, as though they were the inspired prophets of the Most High. Still the world never seems to have been very wise, and we must take it as we find it. The great point is to get Christian doctrine accepted, and to despise no lawful vehicle for conveying it. There was a time when, to be listened to, you had to write in Ciceronian Latin, and adorn your pages with classical quotations. That fancy is over, and now it is the turn of modern literature. Let us humour our patient, and give him nourishment in the form he can take it. For this purpose it seems to me that Shakespeare can be of great use to us, more perhaps than any other writer, because his name is so great and his teaching so clear. Let me say, indeed, at once, that I by no means subscribe to that fantastic opinion, which has exposed us to much ridicule, and which represents Shakespeare as an heroic confessor of our holy faith in the dark days of persecution. This opinion is, indeed, less preposterous than that which represents him as a sort of champion of Protestantism, or that which makes him supremely indifferent to all creeds. Still, an opinion is not right because it is not so wrong as others; and the real state of the case seems briefly this.\* First, it is highly improbable that Shakespeare lived openly and avowedly as a Catholic. Secondly, there is no evidence that he was not always in heart and desire a Catholic. Thirdly, there is some, though not conclusive, evidence that he died avowedly a Catholic. Fourthly, his writings prove that he had an intimate knowledge of our religion and a great respect and liking for it; presenting over and over again the doctrines and ministers of our Church in a favourable light, when there was every occasion for doing the reverse, and, what is more to our present purpose, habitually assuming as true the Christian scheme of the universe, the Christian view of man's nature and destiny. It is not surprising,

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\* I can refer to the excellent article by Mr. Thurston, on "The Religion of Shakspeare," in the *Month*, May 1882.

then, that when he comes across those special departments of human action which are the field of economics—when he comes, for example, to family life, to the relations of master and servant, working classes and directing classes, buying and borrowing, contracts and ownership, poverty and accumulation—he appears in the character of a Christian economist.

In this article I propose to pluck a few flowers out of the fair garden of his writings, so as to illustrate the chief of his economical doctrines. Let us begin with the family, and with the relations of parents and children.

Obedience to parents and reverence for their old age are set forth by Shakespeare as fundamental principles of ethics and of social life, and their failure portends some catastrophe. When Timon, without the walls of Athens, curses the city, the breaking of the family forms a conspicuous part of those terrible imprecations :

*Obedience fail in children ! slaves and fools,  
Pluck the grave wrinkled senate from the bench,  
And minister in their steads ! . . . .*

*. . . . bound servants, steal !  
. . . . son of sixteen,*

*Pluck the lin'd crutch from thy old limping sire,  
With it beat out his brains ! piety, and fear,  
Religion to the gods, peace, justice, truth,  
Domestic awe, night-rest, and neighbourhood,  
Instruction, manners, mysteries, and trades,  
Degrees, observances, customs, and laws,  
Decline to your confounding contraries,  
And let confusion live !*

“Timon of Athens,” iv. 1.

In another play these curses on family life are displayed at work, namely, in the tragedy of “King Lear,” which is a sort of commentary on the Fourth Commandment, and a picture of what happens when we have once entered on the path of insolence and disobedience. Honour and obey your parents, though they be feeble and old, or even passionate and foolish, is the moral continually borne in on us through the course of that appalling tragedy. Nothing indeed is easier than to argue against this, as against other fundamental principles of religion and morals, to reject appeals to “the offices of nature, bond of childhood,” as begging the question, to adduce a dozen reasons for having our own way, to say :

This policy, and reverence of age, makes the world bitter to the best of our times ; keeps our fortunes from us, till our oldness cannot relish them. I begin to find an idle and fond bondage in the oppres-

sion of aged tyranny; who sways, not as it hath power, but as it is suffered.—“King Lear,” i. 2.

This has a plausible sound, but yet, to get a mouth to utter it, Shakespeare creates an unnatural and shameless villain. And who is it but Goneril that says :

Now, by my life,  
Old fools are babes again; and must be used  
With checks.—i. 2.

Now Goneril and Regan are unlike reality, unlike his other characters: they are simply two fiends. But this is a master-stroke of the great dramatist's art and teaching; he refuses to be natural in dealing with such an unnatural vice, and in this way undutiful children are held up to our utmost abhorrence. How different the treatment of a somewhat similar theme by George Eliot. In “*Romola*,” the hero Tito, whose deeds are like those of Edmund, Goneril, and Regan, is no inhuman fiend, but so life-like and natural that we are moved to pity and to sympathy, and begin to feel that we could have scarce helped doing the same, if we had been in his place. But, for all this, “*Romola*” is an untrue picture of life, and teaches untruth, the denial of free will, of the moral law, of judgment to come. Whereas “*King Lear*,” like the rest of Shakespeare's dramas, and like all healthy literature in every tongue, takes for granted these fundamental truths. He knew also the weakness of man's nature, and how, when he has once entered on the path of wickedness, he cannot stop as he pleases, and put a convenient limit to his vices.

O Goneril!

. . . . I fear your disposition :  
That nature which contemns its origin,  
Cannot be border'd certain in itself ;  
She that herself will sliver [break off] and disbranch  
From her material sap, perforce must wither  
And come to deadly use.—“King Lear,” iv. 2.

These are the words of Albany, her husband, and he was right in his fears. For his wife, as well as Regan and Edmund, having broken the great commandment of domestic life, and stood up

As if a man were author of himself,  
And knew no other kin (“*Coriolanus*,” v. 3),

were not likely to let any other commandment stand in their way, wherever their passions might drive them. But Shakespeare does not excuse this downward course, or make us sympathize with guilt. In this very play of “*King Lear*” he makes the barefaced Edmund, when alone, laugh at man's vain excuses :

This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in

fortune (often the surfeit of our own behaviour), we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and stars: as if we were villains on necessity; fools, by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on.—i. 2.

Between George Eliot's picture of men as playthings of circumstance and Shakespeare's as slaves of passion there is all the difference in the world. "King Lear" is the tragedy of undutifulness. The converse drama is "Coriolanus," in which filial piety gains a signal triumph, and brings peace to two warring States. The third scene of the fifth act is one of the grandest and most significant in all Shakespeare. Ungrateful Rome lies at the feet of the victorious Coriolanus; all is ready for his great revenge; all feelings of compunction have been stifled; all entreaties, even of his dearest aged friend, have been in vain—when his mother comes, together with his wife, her young boy, and the noble virgin Valeria. Now these others scarce speak, it is not they who prevail—but his mother Volumnia. The great general, at the summit of power and success, is aghast at the sight of her kneeling to him instead of he to her.

What is this?

Your knees to me? to your corrected son?  
Then let the pebbles on the hungry beach  
Fillip the stars; then let the mutinous winds  
Strike the proud cedars 'gainst the fiery sun;  
Murd'ring impossibility, to make  
What cannot be, slight work.

And so it comes about that the proud spirit of Coriolanus yields, and he who, in the character of a soldier and a citizen, has showed himself so impatient and self-willed, so imperious and unbending, appears in the character of a son quite different, and both listens and obeys.

But though Shakespeare appears as the champion of parental power, he does not run into excess and defend that abuse of it which allows daughters to be given away in marriage at the mere wish of their parents without their inclination being consulted; or, still worse, their marriage being made void by the absence of the consent of the parents. True, the vile Cloten argues against the validity of Imogen's marriage; but his ground is that royalty has a special marriage law of its own.

The contract you pretend with that base wretch

..... is no contract, none:  
And tho' it be allowed in meaner parties,  
..... to knit their souls,  
..... in self-figured knot,

Yet you are curbed from that enlargement by  
The consequence o' the crown ; and must not soil  
The precious note of it with a base slave.

"Cymbeline," ii. 3.

Nor is this sophistry allowed to prevail in the story ; and Imogen remains faithful to her chosen husband during his absence and is happily united to him in the end. Again, the father of Desdemona can do nothing against her marriage when he finds she has not been the victim of witchcraft, but has married the Moor of her free will. Let us hear, too, her words just before, when her father challenged her obedience :

My noble father,  
I do perceive here a divided duty :  
To you, I am bound for life and education ;  
My life and education both do learn me  
How to respect you ; you are the lord of duty ;  
I am hitherto your daughter : but here's my husband ;  
And so much duty as my mother show'd  
To you, preferring you before her father,  
So much I challenge that I may profess  
Due to the Moor, my lord.—"Othello," i. 3.

Then again, in the "Merchant of Venice," the "Taming of the Shrew," and "Midsummer Night's Dream," we see obstacles overcome that fathers have placed in the way of their daughters' free choice ; while the catastrophe in "Romeo and Juliet" is brought about by the parents attempting to force their daughter to marry against her will. And they knew better : for Capulet, before he knew that Juliet would oppose his wishes, had said :

But woo her, gentle Paris, get her heart,  
My will to her consent is but a part ;  
An she agree, within her scope of choice  
Lies my consent and fair according voice.

"Romeo and Juliet," i. 2.

The proper relation also of a father to the marriage of his son is set forth by Polixenes, when, in disguise, he speaks with his own son, Florizel, who has just declared his intention to marry the seeming shepherdess, Perdita.

POLIXENES. Soft, swain, awhile, 'beseech you ;  
Have you a father ?  
FLORIZEL. I have ; but what of him ?  
POL. Knows he of this ?  
FLOR. He neither does, nor shall.  
POL. Methinks a father  
Is, at the nuptial of his son, a guest  
That best becomes the table. Pray you, once more ;



Is not your father grown incapable  
Of reasonable affairs? . . . . .

FLO. No, good sir;  
He has his health and ampler strength, indeed,  
Than most have of his age.

POL. By my white beard,  
You offer him, if this be so, a wrong  
Something unfilial: reason, my son  
Should choose himself a wife; but as good reason,  
The father (all whose joy is nothing else  
But fair posterity) should hold some counsel  
In such a business.—“A Winter’s Tale,” iv. 3.

Shakespeare, in truth, can be said to be the exponent of the traditional Christian view of the relations of parents and children, of the nature of marriage and of the position of women. On this last point he shows wonderful penetration. Let us, by way of comparison, refer once more to George Eliot, who has this in common with Shakespeare, that she has painted for us a wonderful gallery of female portraits. There is this vital difference between the novelist and the poet, that the one is unfair to the whole male sex, and thus places her characters in untrue surroundings; whereas the other is completely fair. George Eliot (as Dr. Peter Bayne pointed out in a paper read before the New Shakspeare Society) was the champion of women: her only male heroes were Adam Bede and Savonarola. She never showed “the mystery of feminine malignity;” and her works were mainly an indictment of men in favour of women. There is no sign of this in Shakespeare; and he is equally free, on the other hand, from Milton’s scorn of women. In Milton’s writings, as Dr. Johnson, in his pointed way, observes, there appears “something like a Turkish contempt of females, as subordinate and inferior beings. That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education. He thought women made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.” (“Life of Milton.”)

Nothing could be more unlike Shakespeare than this; nothing more opposed to his principles of politics and economics than public disobedience and private despotism. The noble characters he has drawn of women are the best proof of how far he was from that pagan estimate—that they are to serve, according to circumstances, as man’s plaything or as his drudge. It is impossible to think of Portia, of Helena, of Isabella, of Imogen, or again, of Hermione or Queen Katharine, in either capacity, and marriage appears as a perpetual union of man and woman for their mutual support. But of that domestic society the man is the head and not the woman—

Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper,  
 Thy head, thy sovereign; one that cares for thee,  
 And for thy maintenance; commits his body  
 To painful labour both by sea and land;  
 To watch the night in storms, the day in cold,  
 While thou liest warm at home, secure and safe;  
 And craves no other tribute at thy hands,  
 But love, fair looks, and true obedience,—  
 Too little payment for so great a debt.

“*Taming of the Shrew*,” v. 2.

Nor does Shakespeare fail to portray, with a master hand, the vices and weaknesses of women; but it is done not maliciously but impartially; and he metes out the same rigorous justice to men.

Let us turn to another department of economics, the relations of the upper to the lower classes, of masters and rich people to servants and dependants. Now Shakespeare's position will be best understood by first saying what he was not—namely, that he was not entangled by either of two mischievous delusions that darken the eyes of our contemporaries, and, like most errors on social subjects, have their root in a want of sound theology. The one error is to ignore the perpetual gulf between the rude multitude and the cultivated few; the other is to make too much of it, and to misunderstand it. Now the first error paints for us a dark picture of the past, a brighter picture of the present, and a golden picture of the future. Perhaps the different epochs are specified, and we are told how the masses were first sunk in cannibalism, and then passed through slavery, and after that through serfdom, till they reached the modern epoch of liberty; though now it is more usual to consider the present period as transitory, namely, that it is the epoch of “wagedom,” to be followed by the really golden age of co-operative—or, as others would prefer, socialistic—production. At any rate, the odious distinctions of upper and lower classes, of masters and servants, are to cease; and we are all, in one way or another, to be industrious fellow producers and cultivated fellow citizens. This happy consummation moreover will be the sooner reached, the more fully we trust the people, the more completely in all matters of legislation we are guided by their voices.

This view of the masses, with various minor modifications, is still widely held in England and America, and is the staple of much Radical oratory. But there are objections to the view. It is so opposed to the real course of history, that no true historical student can be ensnared by it. Then, secondly, it is so contrary to human nature, and the facts of real life, that no great observer of men and things can hold it. And, thirdly, it presupposes

that men are not fallen, that human nature is not corrupted, that the earth has not been smitten with a curse. Now, Shakespeare could not, if he wished, have been an historical student; and so he had not that first security against being a Utopian dreamer. But then he had the two other securities: he held *à priori* the Christian view of life, and none have ever surpassed that acute observer in *à posteriori* knowledge of men and their ways. Hence he saw clearly that the relation of master and servant was essential if there was to be any civilized life, that is, if there was to be any literature, science, art, and national, as distinct from tribal or domestic, life. The jesting fancy he puts into the mouth of Gonzalo in "The Tempest" shows what he deemed needful in sober reality:

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries  
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic  
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;  
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,  
And use of service, none; contract, succession,  
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;  
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;  
No occupation; all men idle, all;  
And women too; but innocent and pure:  
No sovereignty. . . . .  
All things in common nature should produce  
Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,  
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,  
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,  
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,  
To feed my innocent people.—"Tempest," ii. 1.

But among fallen men in a sterile world there must in political life be the distinction of rulers and ruled, the rulers, and not the ruled, having the sword of justice; and in economical life there must be the distinction of masters and servants, the masters, and not the servants, having learning and wealth. Thus Shylock is able to silence the court by a dexterous appeal to this principle, which, though often unpalatable, is always true:

You have among you many a purchased slave,  
Which, like your asses, and your dogs and mules,  
You use in abject and in slavish parts,  
Because you bought them:—shall I say to you,  
Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?  
Why sweat they under burdens? let their beds  
Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates  
Be season'd with such viands. You will answer,  
The slaves are ours:—so do I answer you.  
"Merchant of Venice," iv. 1.

Shakespeare, be it observed, has an uncompromising way of calling a spade a spade. To scrub the floor, black boots, clean dirty clothes, groom horses, fetch and carry, and much else, are abject or low occupations—that is, are unfit for those who much exercise the higher faculties of our nature; and slavish in Shakespeare's sense is also a word that can be applied to them. For slave appears used not in the technical sense it has now, but as a rather contemptuous expression—like peasant or groom—to designate one of the lower classes (“*King Lear*,” iii. 7; “*Henry V.*,” iv. 1; “*Two Gentlemen of Verona*,” iv. 4). So the word slavish in the passage above is to be taken as the adjective of servant, and like the adjective in the ecclesiastical phrase “servile work.” And in this sense the occupation of most men must ever be “slavish,” and no amount of inflated language will ever make it otherwise. But we are so accustomed to euphemisms that Shakespeare's tongue sounds rough. If a man now is a “lean unwashed artificer” (“*King John*,” iv. 2), we do not say so, nor speak in print of “the breath of garlic eaters” (“*Coriolanus*,” iv. 6), nor send the message, “Bid them wash their faces and keep their teeth clean” (*Ibid.* ii. 3), nor venture to say to the crowd in Trafalgar Square :

Hence ; home, you idle creatures, get you home ;  
Is this a holiday ? What ! know you not,  
Being mechanical, you ought not walk  
Upon a labouring day, without the sign  
Of your profession ?—Speak, what trade art thou ?

1ST CITIZEN. Why, sir, a carpenter.

MARULLUS. Where is thy leather apron and thy rule,  
What dost thou with thy best apparel on ?

“*Julius Cæsar*,” i. 1.

I am not dealing directly with politics, and it is enough to mention the two plays, “*Julius Cæsar*” and “*Coriolanus*,” as being satires on mob rule as keen as the “*Knights*” of Aristophanes ; and the “*Midsummer Night's Dream*” ought to be put on the Radical Index for venturing to set forth so irreverently the deeds of Quince the carpenter, Snug the joiner, Bottom the weaver, Flute the bellows-mender, Snout the tinker, and Starveling the tailor. What more immediately concerns us is the wonderful description of a social revolution given in “*The Second Part of King Henry VI.*,” where the rebellion of Jack Cade is described. The account is not historical, but that does not matter ; and no reasoning could set forth more convincingly the horror and futility of such revolutions than those terrible scenes. Seven scenes in the fourth act set before us the course of the insurrection. We are first introduced to two subordinates, and the following is a portion of their conversation :

JOHN. Well, I say it was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up.

GEORGE. O miserable age! Virtue is not regarded in handicraftsmen.

JOHN. The nobility think scorn to go in leather aprons.

GEORGE. Nay more, the king's council are no good workmen.

JOHN. True. And yet it is said,—labour in thy vocation: which is as much to say, as,—let the magistrates be labouring men; and therefore should we be magistrates.

Then Jack Cade himself enters, whom Shakespeare depicts as a vile mixture of vanity, cunning and cruelty; and with him his ferocious helpmate, Dick the butcher. Let us hear some of his projects of reformation:

CADE. There shall be, in England, seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny: the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer: all the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass. And when I am king (as king I will be)——

ALL. God save your majesty!

CADE. I thank you, good people:—there shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their lord.

DICK. The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers.

CADE. Nay, that I mean to do.

They make a beginning by killing, not exactly a lawyer, but a man of the pen, the clerk of Chatham. Then proceeding victoriously to Blackheath, they purpose to break open the gaols of London and let out the prisoners. The terrible news is brought to the king that Jack Cade has occupied Southwark:

His army is a ragged multitude  
Of hinds and peasants, rude and merciless . . . .  
All scholars, lawyers, courtiers, gentlemen,  
They call false caterpillars, and intend their death.

And another messenger brings news:

Jack Cade hath gotten London Bridge;  
The citizens fly and forsake their houses;  
The rascal people, thirsting after prey,  
Join with the traitor; and they jointly swear  
To spoil the city and your royal court.

The scene shifts to Jack Cade and his triumph. All written documents, the title deeds of wealth and privilege, are to be destroyed:—

So, sirs:—now go some and pull down the Savoy; others to the inns of court; down with them all . . . .

Away, burn all the records of the realm: my mouth shall be the

parliament of England. . . . And henceforward all things shall be in common.

Then follows the touching scene where Lord Say, whom the rebels have captured, pleads in vain for his life. And see here how true Shakespeare is to nature. It is no cruel tyrant and grinder down of the poor, that receives in melodramatic fashion the terrible reward of his misdeeds. For in real life—and this is one of the characteristics of social convulsions—the well-doers and benefactors of the poor suffer indiscriminately with the evil-doers, whose misdeeds have brought on the catastrophe. Nay, the good, taking less precautions, are more likely to be victims. So Lord Say is painted as the model of a Christian gentleman, using his gifts and wealth for the general good. But in vain, he pleads:—

Long sitting to determine poor men's causes,  
Hath made me full of sickness and diseases. . . .  
Have I affected wealth, or honour? speak.  
Are my chests fill'd up with extorted gold?  
Is my apparel sumptuous to behold?  
Whom have I injur'd, that ye seek my death?

This, and the rest of his pathetic pleading, is only the occasion for mockery, and does not stop them from slaying him. The next scene is equally characteristic, showing the sudden collapse of the rebellion, the "rabblement" being drawn by a little artful management to desert their leader. And we see no issue of the uprising beyond a train of ruin and blood.

Are those then who have riches and power in their hands to look on Shakespeare as their uncompromising ally, furnishing them with a matchless supply of pointed sayings with which to crush all vile Radicals and reformers for evermore? Are they to proclaim him as the great "Conservative" champion? Perhaps it may seem so from what I have said till now. But let them not be too quick in their conclusion; and let me say to them with Portia: "Tarry a little; there is something else." Yes; there is something else; for the doctrine that man is weak and fallen is not the whole of Christianity; and that the mass of the people must be poor and uncultivated is not the only teaching of economics; there is something else taught besides. And if those who would make Shakespeare a flatterer of the people, a revolutionist, or a State Socialist, grossly misunderstand him; those misunderstand him no less who think of him as a cynical scoffer at the ignorance and rudeness of the poor, a worshipper of culture and of power, an apologist for every selfish plutocracy. Shakespeare laughed, not at poverty, but at insolent poverty; not at rude ignorance and horny hands, but at the ignorant

trying to sit in the seat of the learned, and those who follow the plough putting on the garments of elegance and leisure. He knew how to honour the poor, and all the better because he would not flatter them. He was not one "of those democrats, who, when they are not on their guard, treat the humbler part of the community with the greatest contempt, whilst at the same time they pretend to make them the depositaries of all power" (Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France"). Milton was one of these, alternately flattering and reviling the mass of the people, and in this, just as in his treatment of women, he was a complete contrast to his great predecessor. Let us remember that there are different kinds of derision. It is one thing to make the plain-spoken Coriolanus utter some home truths about the "mutable rank-scented many," and "common fools" ("Coriolanus," iii. 1): it is quite another thing to make the solemn chorus in "Samson Agonistes" chant in melodious verse the expressions of exquisite scorn:

Nor do I name of men the common rout,  
That wand'ring loose about,  
Grow up and perish, like the summer flies,  
Heads without name no more remembered.

The great poet of Protestantism anticipates Goethe, the great poet of Rationalism; and their resemblance in their contempt of the uncultured masses is no accident. Much might be written on this. Enough here to notice that this truly un-Christian contempt is not depth but shallowness, and that pride is justly punished by becoming the slave of sensible appearances, judging like a mere child from what it sees, smells, and hears, and going by feeling, not by reason. But Shakespeare was not of this sort. He had wisdom and religion enough to penetrate below the rude exterior, not to be dazzled by phenomena, but to see things as they are, and to recognize in each man the image and likeness of God. He will not hear of any equality in capacities and culture, in wealth and power; but then he knows that these things are mere trifles compared with those in which rich and poor are equal; that we all have the same nature, are all called to the same exalted end, the supernatural union with God; that our moral dispositions are what is all important, and are not affected one way or the other by our garments being tattered, our breath strong of garlic, our occupation slavish.

For 'tis the mind that makes the body rich;  
And as the sun breaks thro' the darkest clouds,  
So honour peereth in the meanest habit.

"Taming of the Shrew," iv. 3.

Poor and content, is rich, and rich enough.

"Othello," iii. 3.



It is no cultured gentleman who interposes to check Cornwall in his wicked purpose to pluck out the eyes of the aged Duke of Gloucester, but a servant—

Hold your hand, my lord;  
I have served you ever since I was a child,  
But better service have I never done you,  
Than now to bid you hold.—“King Lear,” iii. 7.

And it is another servant who goes for flax and whites of eggs for Gloucester’s bleeding face, and a rustic tenant who is ready to help him in his need, “come on’t what will” (iv. 1). Again, when we have had our laugh at the uncouth clowns in “Midsummer Night’s Dream,” the course of merriment is for a moment suspended, to remind us that they are men no other than ourselves, and that uncouthness is wholly distinct from vice. Philostrate, the master of revels, tells of the ridiculous character of their play. Then Duke Theseus inquires

What are they that do play it?

PHILOSTRATE. Hard-handed men that work in Athens here,  
Which never labour’d in their minds till now;  
And now have toil’d their unbreath’d memories  
With this same play, against your nuptial.

THESEUS. And we will hear it.

PHILOSTRATE. No, my noble lord,  
It is not for you: I have heard it over,  
And it is nothing, nothing in the world,  
(Unless you can find sport in their intents,)  
Extremely stretch’d and conn’d with cruel pain,  
To do you service.

THESEUS. I will hear that play;  
For never anything can be amiss,  
When simpleness and duty tender it. . . .  
Our sport shall be to take what they mistake;  
And what poor duty cannot do,  
Noble respect takes it in might, not merit. . . .  
Love therefore, and tongue-tied simplicity,  
In least speak most, to my capacity.

“Midsummer Night’s Dream,” v. 1.

How pleasing is the character of the old shepherd, and what grace is thrown round peasant life, in “A Winter’s Tale.” This is still more so in the delightful comedy “As You Like It,” where Corin the shepherd and Adam the servant are among the most attractive characters in the play. Corin is very poor, but is courteous in speech, kind and hospitable in deeds; simple, and without that unmannerly aping of gentility which renders the poor ridiculous. So when Touchstone twits him with never

having seen good manners, because he was never at court, he can answer :

Not a whit, Touchstone : those that are good manners at the court are as ridiculous in the country, as the behaviour of the country is most mockable at the court.—“ As You Like It,” iii. 2.

And he can describe himself with true dignity :

Sir, I am a true labourer ; I earn that I eat, get that I wear ; owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness ; glad of other men's good, content with my harm ; and the greatest of my pride is, to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck.—*Ibid.*

In the same play the old servant Adam gives up all the savings of a life-time to provide for his young master Orlando, and for his sake becomes a wanderer when nigh fourscore years old.

Master, go on ; and I will follow thee,  
To the last gasp with truth and loyalty.—ii. 3.

He indeed deserved well the praise he received :

O good old man : how well in thee appears  
The constant service of the antique world,  
When service sweat for duty, not for need.—*Ibid.*

Returning to peasant life, let us listen to some portions of the soliloquy of King Henry in “ Third Part of King Henry VI.”—(ii. 5.)

O God ! methinks it were a happy life,  
To be no better than a homely swain. . . .  
So many hours must I tend my flock ;  
So many hours must I take my rest ;  
So many hours must I contemplate ;  
So many hours must I sport myself ;  
So many days my ewes have been with young ;  
So many weeks ere the poor fools will yeau ;  
So many years ere I shall shear the fleece ;  
So minutes, hours, days, months, and years,  
Pass'd over to the end they were created,  
Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave.  
Ah ! what a life were this ! how sweet ! how lovely !  
Gives not the hawthorn-bush a sweeter shade  
To shepherds, looking on their silly sheep,  
Than doth a rich embroidered canopy  
To kings, that fear their subject's treachery ?

And if he sees virtue behind rusticity, Shakespeare is equally keen to strip off the mask of respectability that wealth hangs up before vice.

Through tatter'd clothes small vices do appear ;  
Robes and furr'd gowns hide all. Plate sin with gold,  
And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks ;  
Arm it in rags, a pigmy's straw doth pierce it.

“ King Lear,” iv. 6.

Oh, what a world of vile ill-favoured faults  
Looks handsome in three hundred pounds a year!  
"Merry Wives of Windsor," iii. 4.

Gold? yellow, glittering, precious gold?  
. . . . Thus much of this will make  
Black, white; foul, fair; wrong, right;  
. . . . This yellow slave  
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;  
Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,  
And give them title, knee, and approbation,  
With senators on the bench.—"Timon of Athens," iv. 3.

Nor has dollar-hunting ever been more sharply satirised than in that oft reiterated counsel of Iago to Roderigo: "Put money in thy purse" ("Othello" i. 3). In contrast to which we may listen to the soliloquy of the good yeoman, Iden, as he walks in his garden:—

Lord, who would live turmoiled in the court,  
And may enjoy such quiet walks as these?  
This small inheritance, my father left me,  
Contenteth me, and 's worth a monarchy.  
I seek not to wax great by others' waning;  
Or gather wealth I care not with what envy?  
Sufficeth that I have maintains my state,  
And sends the poor well pleased from my gate.

"Second Part of King Henry VI.," iv. 10.

The poor can indeed claim Shakespeare as their true friend. He knew their needs, sympathized with their troubles, and was an enemy of their oppressors. He was no mouthing demagogue; his maxim was not that of the bastard in "King John":—

Well, whiles I am a beggar, I will rail,  
And say—there is no sin but to be rich;  
And being rich, my virtue then shall be,  
To say—there is no vice but beggary.

"King John," ii. 2.

This is the procedure of the sham *ami du peuple*. But Shakespeare was not a sham in anything. His sympathy with the poor is genuine. How true and touching, for example, is that scene in "Romeo and Juliet" (v. 2), where Romeo offers forty ducats to the half-starved apothecary for a dram of poison, though to sell it is a capital offence. The temptation is too strong, the need is too great, and the poor man utters the words that have been uttered a thousand times in every tongue and every age:—

My poverty, but not my will, consents.

In truth Shakespeare knew well enough that "freedom of contract" between rich and poor, strong and weak, was a contradic-

tion in terms, and a mere mask for iniquitous extortion. And of all oppressors of the poor, great and small, he was the enemy. But here it is impossible fully to understand him without a few words of historical explanation. Any one must be struck with the fact that lawyers, justices, and the inferior officers of the law appear in no pleasant light in his pages. To be a process-server appears as one of the "knavish professions" that had been pursued in the course of his life by the arch-rogue, Autolycus ("Winter's Tale," iv. 2). The imbecile city officers, Dogberry and Verges (in "Much Ado About Nothing"), and Elbow, the constable (in "Measure for Measure") are well matched by the country justices, Shallow and Silence (in "Henry IV." and "The Merry Wives of Windsor"). Lear says with much method in his madness:—

A man may see how this world goes, with no eyes. Look with thine ears: see how yon justice rails upon yon simple thief. Hark, in thine ear: change places; and, handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief? . . . a dog's obeyed in office.

Thou rascal beadle hold thy bloody hand!

. . . . Strip thine own back.—"King Lear," iv. 6.

And lawyers fare no better. Timon exclaims with bitterness:—

Crack the lawyer's voice

That he may never more false title plead,

Nor sound his quillet's [quibbles] shrilly.

"Timon of Athens," iv. 3.

Listen also to Hamlet in the graveyard:—

There's another! Why might not that be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddits [subtleties] now, his quilletts, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks? Why does he suffer this rude knave now to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel, and will not tell him of his action of battery? Humph! This fellow might be in 's time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his double vouchers, his recoveries: is this the fine of his fines, and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt? will his vouchers vouch him no more of his purchases, and double ones too, than the length and breadth of a pair of indentures? The very conveyances of his lands will hardly lie in this box; and must the inheritor himself have no more? ha!—"Hamlet," v. 1.

And in a previous scene (i. 3) he had complained of "the law's delay," and "the insolence of office."

What is the meaning of all this? Why again does he paint the common people in Jack Cade's rebellion as filled with such particular hatred against the lawyers, or allow Cade to justify his intention of slaying them by the following argument:—

Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment, being scribbled

o'er, should undo a man? Some say the bee stings; but I say 'tis the bee's wax, for I did but seal once to a thing, and I was never mine own man since.—“Second Part of King Henry VI.,” iv. 2.

Are we to conclude that Shakespeare, like some youthful and red-hot Radical, imagined that the agents, guardians, and interpreters of the law were at best drones, and mostly vampires, making a mystery of what is simple in order to profit by the obscurity? Did he think that in a wealthy and highly cultivated society every cause could be decided at little cost in a brief space of time, were it not for the interested devices of the legal profession? Nothing could be more absurd. For Shakespeare was pre-eminently no fanatic, rode no hobbies, and understood the realities of life, the complicated relations of men and things, the difficulties of applying the principles of justice, simple in themselves, to the endless variety of concrete cases, the need of laws and of a learned class to study them and apply them. But every sort of power in this world is liable to abuse, and the great abuse in England during Shakespeare's youth was precisely that of the law, that was accessory to dreadful wrongs committed against the common people. The sixteenth century in England witnessed two great movements closely connected with one another—one the destruction of the ancient religion, the other of the ancient petty tenantry of the country. The first great method of destroying the small cultivators was by enclosures on the part of the rich, breaking up the common fields and methods of cultivation, and lessening the common pastures, so that the cottiers, now isolated and stinted, were compelled in multitudes to part with their land to escape starvation. We are introduced in “Second Part of King Henry VI.,” i. 3, to a poor petitioner of the whole township, who presents a petition: “Against the Duke of Suffolk for enclosing the commons of Melford.” The second great method of destroying the poorer tenants was by turning them out neck and crop, sometimes by legal process, sometimes without even any show of law. This method was most conspicuous over the vast estates that had once belonged to the Church, and where the small tenants had been especially well off, but were now the victims of greedy courtiers and unscrupulous speculators. Let us hear Professor Nasse (“Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages,” 2nd edition, pp. 91, 92).

Copyholders were driven in great numbers from their rural hides. . . . His [the poor peasant's] rights rested on the custom of the manor, which was to be proved from the manor roll in the possession of the lord of the manor, and a copyholder could lose these rights by numerous acts. . . . The small copyholders were not in a position to establish such rights before learned tribunals, when opposed by experienced advocates. Latimer, on this account, accuses the judges

even of injustice and corruption, being open to bribes, and maintains that "in these days gold is all-powerful with the tribunals." . . . . A time . . . . while so great a revolution in Church and State was in progress, could not have been favourable for the support of rights which were dependent upon custom. . . . Thus, a publication which appeared in the year 1546 complains that the new possessors of Church property generally declared that, by the secularization, all the old rights of the copyholders were extinguished.

And the late Mr. Cliffe Leslie pertinently asked :

Not to speak of the risks of an "action for battery" against a powerful noble if he chose to have him knocked on the head, how was the copyholder to produce a box of conveyances in the control of the lord himself? Was it likely that the small proprietor could outwit the lord's sharp lawyer, with "his cases, his tenures, and his tricks?" The burning hatred which the peasantry of his own time felt towards the ministers of a legal system by which they were oppressed and ruined, breathes in the language which the great dramatist puts in the mouth of Cade and his followers.\*

The acutest phase of the evil was indeed over when Shakespeare (born in 1564) was first of an age to observe and reason. Thousands of evicted peasants had been hanged under the title of thieves or vagabonds; thousands had been shot down as "rebels" by foreign mercenaries; thousands more had perished by starvation. But the remembrance of that vast multitude of victims had not faded out, and was refreshed by the continuance in a mitigated form of the same misdeeds. The number of vagrants can be taken as some index of the number of the evicted; for eviction was the main cause of vagrancy. Now a stream of blood flows through the reign of Elizabeth, a year seldom passing in which 300 to 400 vagrants were not executed. For vagrancy was a capital crime,† and the law, with something more than the law, was enforced with ferocity. Thus in the single county of Somersetshire in one year forty persons were executed and thirty-five branded; again, in the year 1598, in Devonshire seventy-four persons were hung. Shakespeare knew of these things, saw the victims of legal and illegal oppression, heard the old men tell of the terrible past, and all the bitterness of his words on the law and its ministers becomes intelligible; nay, we marvel at his moderation and self-control, and that he did not become, like his own Thersites (in "*Troilus*

\* "*Land Systems of England and the Continent*," p. 218.

† By the Act 14 Elizabeth, cap. 5, any one falling a second time into a "roguish life," and being over eighteen, was to suffer death as a felon, "unless some credible person will take him into service for two years. And if he fall a third time into a roguish life, he shall be adjudged a felon."

and Cressida"), a sharp-witted and cynical railer against all authority. But he had the wisdom that is not altogether common to distinguish use from abuse.

Shakespeare's sympathy with the poor and horror of oppression is nowhere more clearly shown than in the magnificent play of "*The Merchant of Venice*;" for he uses all his skill to enlist our sympathies with the friend of the poor, the noble-hearted merchant Antonio, and to cover Shylock, the enemy of the poor, with hatred and scorn. Moreover, it is a play for all time. Antonio and Shylock are types of humanity; the poor are perpetually exposed to usury; the enmity of all oppressors and extortioners is still as violent as ever against any one who seeks to stand between them and their victims. Now, what was Antonio's unpardonable crime? Was it that he spat on Shylock's gaberdine? No. Or spurned him? No. Or called him dog? No. Hundreds of others had done the same; he could well afford to bear such trifles, and they scarce serve as a pretext for his enmity. The real cause is plain:

For that, in low simplicity,  
He lends out money gratis, and brings down  
The rate of usance here with us in Venice.  
  . . . . he rails,  
Even there where merchants most do congregate,  
On me, my bargains, and my well-won thrift,  
Which he calls interest.—i. 3.

He was wont to call me usurer—let him look to his bond: he was wont to lend money for a Christian courtesy—let him look to his bond. . . . He hath . . . hindered me half a million . . . thwarted my bargains . . . were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will.—iii. 1.

Gaoler, look to him: tell me not of mercy;—  
This is the fool that lends out money gratis:  
Gaoler, look to him.—iii. 3.

And Antonio himself is well aware of the ground why he has no hope for mercy:

Let him alone;  
I'll follow him no more with bootless prayers.  
He seeks my life; his reason well I know:  
I oft deliver'd from his forfeitures  
Many that have at times made moan to me;  
Therefore he hates me.

Antonio in fact, being as just and generous as he was rich, had come to the aid of his poorer citizens, and endeavoured to give them some of the protection which they ought to have got, but did not get, from the law. By using a large sum of money in giving loans without any interest, he withdrew a number of



necessitous borrowers from the Jew, and compelled him to grant easier terms to the remainder. Others he enabled to pay back both interest and principal, and thus escape the forfeiture to which an iniquitous bargain had bound them, and which a feeble law permitted; indeed, his own case was only an extreme example of the iniquities he prevented. The whole play may be considered as a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of the political doctrine that the State exists only to protect property and enforce contracts, and of the economical doctrine that credit is a blessing and usury a nightmare. What a pitiable part is played by the Venetian authorities. Shylock has the upper hand with them :

He plies the duke at morning, and at night ;  
And doth impeach the freedom of the state  
If they deny him justice : twenty merchants,  
The duke himself, and the magnificoes  
Of greatest port, have all persuaded with him ;  
But none can drive him from the envious plea  
Of forfeiture, of justice, and his bond.—iii. 2.

Antonio perfectly grasps the situation.

The duke cannot deny the course of law,  
For the commodity that strangers have  
With us in Venice, if it be denied,  
Will much impeach the justice of the state :  
Since that the trade and profit of the city  
Consisteth of all nations.—iii. 3.

And in the trial Shylock claims to have his due according to the bond, and threatens :

If you deny it, let the danger light  
Upon your charter, and your city's freedom.—iv. 1.

We might think we were listening to the old debates on the factory laws, when the protection of women and children from all manner of cruelties and horrors had to overcome the oft-repeated objection : British interests will be prejudiced by this sentimental legislation ; British manufactures unable to hold their own in foreign markets ; British trade hampered. As though man was for the sake of trade, not trade for the sake of man. And usury is shown in its true light in this play. Elsewhere, indeed, there is casual reference to it. The popular horror of usurers is shown in the first scene of "Coriolanus," and in the third scene of the fourth act of "A Winter's Tale." In "King Lear" a usurer appears on the same line as the worst of criminals (iv. 6) ; and the "advantages of credit," on which the economists have dilated, are briefly summed up by "Keep thy hand from lenders' books and defy the foul fiend" (iii. 4). A similar warning is to

be found in "Hamlet" (i. 3); but the "Merchant of Venice" is the classical play for the usury question. Had I been writing even a few years ago, it would have been necessary to make an apology for Shakespeare; to lament his ignorance, to excuse him as the victim of a dark age and unable to shake off in those pre-Adam-Smithite pre-Benthamite times the illusions of the Middle Ages. Now, however, we are mostly of another mind. Usury laws have been restored in parts of the British Empire, of Europe, and of America; and our wonder now is how even the matchless dulness and assurance of Jeremy Bentham could write the "Defence of Usury" in the face of the "Merchant of Venice." I am not going to weary my readers with a disquisition on usury.\* Enough that extortion of any kind is always wrong; that to take back anything more than the principal on a loan of money, apart from all extortion, is, under certain circumstances, also wrong; that those circumstances may be now the exception, and may have been the rule in Shakespeare's England or in the Middle Ages, but that this difference does not alter the truth of the mediæval doctrine; finally, that what is wrong in all dealings with property should as far as possible be prevented and punished by law. A good State should have rendered the efforts of Antonio against usury superfluous. If the law had been as it ought, there would have been no occasion for Bassanio's desperate advice to alter it then and there in court, so as to meet the particular case, or for Portia's evasion of it by a successful quibble. Extortion should be penal, extortionate contracts void, Antonio's bond, so far as the forfeit went, not worth the parchment it was written on. And we have still not fully learnt the lesson of this play. Else how can any one still have the face to meet the cry of distress by an appeal to their contracts, to their bonds, and imitate the very words of Shylock when asked to have at hand some surgeon?

Is it so nominated in the bond?

PORTIA. It is not so express'd; but what of that?

T'were good you do so much for charity.

SHYLOCK. I cannot find it; 'tis not in the bond.—iv. 1.

And how can any one still use that most feeble of pleas for wrong doing, that he has a right to do what he likes with his own, when this was precisely what Shylock said, when he complained that Antonio had held him up to opprobrium?

And all for use of that which is mine own.—i. 3.

In truth the plutocrat fares no better in Shakespeare's hands than the demagogue.

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\* Much can be got in short compass about usury from an article in the *Month* of last September.

It is time to bring this paper to a close; and I will only briefly call attention to two points more. One is that Shakespeare, by an incidental remark, shows that he knows how to reason on such technical matters as value and market price. Wise Hector is arguing against the impetuous youth Troilus, and urging the fitness of surrendering Helen to the Greeks:

Brother, she is not worth what she doth cost  
The holding.

TROILUS. What's aught but as 'tis valued?

HECTOR. But value dwells not in particular will;  
It holds his [its] estimate and dignity  
As well wherein 'tis precious of itself  
As in the prizer.—"Troilus and Cressida," ii. 2.

The second point is, that although Shakespeare did not professedly treat the question of the organization of labour—indeed, it did not form a "question" in his time—still, we can have little doubt as to what his opinion would have been on the disorganization and economical anarchy of our own time and country. If there is anything he advocates it is order, organization, obedience; if there is anything he deprecates, it is headstrong liberty, it is the dominion of appetite, it is the discord, the "oppugnancy," the chaos, that follows. And he expressly alludes to organized industry, namely, to instruction (*i.e.*, proper apprenticeship), to mysteries and trades (*i.e.*, industry organized in guilds or associations), to communities, to degrees in schools, to brotherhoods in cities, as fundamental portions of man's life in society. He who wrote that wonderful imprecation in "Timon of Athens," iv. 1 (I have cited a part of it), and that still grander speech of Ulysses in "Troilus and Cressida," i. 3 (less well known than it ought to be because of the play in which it is set), would never have sanctioned that devouring of the weak by the strong, of the simple by the crafty, which we euphemistically call by the name of free competition.

In conclusion, let me again point out that the writings of Shakespeare are a mine of economical and also of political wisdom, worth a great deal more than many of our professed and classical economists. And why? Was he far "in advance" of his time? Was he an inspired teacher? Was he a sort of demigod? Nothing of the kind, and something much simpler. He was a great master of language, a great and acute observer of life both individual and social, and last and not least he had the key to interpret life. Now this key was the thorough knowledge of Christian doctrine. But Christian doctrine provides a great code of ethics; indeed, every ethical code without it, is but feeble at the best. Moreover, economics and politics

are not separate from, but a part and parcel of, ethics; they are particular as opposed to general ethics; merely the working of the general principles in particular fields. No wonder, then, that Shakespeare, who knew so well both the principles and the fields, was a good economist and political teacher. If indeed we want to be professors of some bran-new science of "political economy" or "sociology," or something else, and to fill pages with discussion of impossible hypotheses or disputes on terminology, to abound in fine phrases and wordy declamation, we shall find Shakespeare very simple and old-fashioned. But he might say of us (for he is a little uncivil at times) what Lorenzo said of Launcelot Gobbo's conversation:

O dear discretion, how his words are suited!  
 The fool hath planted in his memory  
 An army of good words; and I do know  
 A many fools, that stand in better place,  
 Garnish'd like him, that for a tricky word,  
 Defy the matter.—"Merchant of Venice," iii. 5.

C. S. DEVAS.

#### ART. V.—ANCIENT BENEDICTINE CUSTOMS.

1. *The Rule of Our Most Holy Father St. Benedict.* Edited, with an English Translation and Explanatory Notes, by A MONK OF ST. BENEDICT'S ABBEY, FORT AUGUSTUS. London: Burns & Oates.
2. *Expositio sive Glossa Regulæ Beati Benedicti.* A MS. in the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury. Written at Rome by JOHN WHYTEFELDE, Monk of Canterbury, in the month of August, the third year of Pope Urban VI.
3. PAULI WARNEFRIDI DIACONI CASINENSIS in *Sanctam Regulam Commentarium.* Typis Montis Casini. 1880.
4. *Vita et Regula SS. P. Benedicti*, una cum Expositione Regulæ a HILDEMARO edita. Ratisbonæ: Sumptibus Friderici Pustet. 1880.
5. *Regula S. Benedicti*, cum Commentariis EDMUNDI MARTÈNE. Migne's "Patrologia Latina," tom lxvi.
6. CALMET.—*Commentaire sur la Règle de Saint-Benoît.* Paris. 1732.

SO much has been written on the Order of St. Benedict and its relation to the outer world that its inner and domestic history has been comparatively ignored. I mean the history of

its progress or decay in the observance of the monastic rule. This is all the more to be regretted as its influence for good on the world without has ever depended on the degree in which the children of St. Benedict have remained faithful to the tenor of life inculcated by their Father and Lawgiver. It is not to be wondered at, however. The daily round of life, with its domestic details, as practised at Monte Cassino or Subiaco, at Fleury or Fulda or Hirschau, at Canterbury or Iona, during the sixth, seventh, eighth, or ninth centuries, was not thought worthy of record by writers, whose imagination was carried away by the conversion and civilization of barbarous races, by the rearing of splendid cathedrals or the foundation of seats of learning. And yet such achievements are the less important part of monastic history. If we could know to what extent silence and monastic simplicity were in favour or languished within the cloisters, we might be able to answer many a puzzling question in our history—as, for example, how it came to pass that, during six hundred years, the growth of the monastic order advanced with seemingly boundless energy, and that after A.D. 1200, as Mabillon says, new foundations became exceedingly rare (“*novæ monasteriorum fundationes rarissimæ fuerunt*”). To write that inner history, however, would be an arduous task. All I propose to do at present is to trace out from original sources, and confining myself to the earliest times of the Order (not later than 1100), the usages of Benedictine life in such matters as the daily routine of hours, food, clothing, buildings, penitential practices, silence, manual labour, study, and so forth. I know I cannot exhaust half my subject-matter within the limits of an article, so I shall leave aside things liturgical, which would require at least another such article to themselves, with much else, I hope, for some other occasion. I must be permitted to begin with a word or two on the works whose titles I have placed at the head of this article.

The Fort Augustus translator of the Holy Rule must be congratulated on the faithful and readable version he has given to the public. To be impartial, however, it must be admitted that, over and over again, he betrays a wish to smooth over by something very like a paraphrase passages which he did not think would bear literally translating, and in some few instances I doubt if he has seized the true meaning. Thus, in chapter lxxii., St. Benedict, repeating what he had laid down in the preceding chapter on *mutual* obedience among the brethren, expresses himself with his usual conciseness and vigour: “*Obedientiam sibi certatim impendant.*” The translator renders this, “Let them vie with one another in obedience,” missing the idea of *mutual* obedience, and leaving it open to be supposed that it is simply in obedience to their superior that they have to emulate

one another. In chapter lxxiii. St. Benedict distinguishes between the "*initium conversationis*" and the "*perfectionem conversationis*." In the first instance, "*conversatio*" is translated "goodness of life;" in the second, "religion." I doubt if either gives quite the real idea. "*Conversatio*" with St. Benedict is rather the monastic life itself considered as a special profession, and he refers to the beginning, the progress (Prologue), and the perfection of the "*conversatio*," and calls the life of unsettled or vagabond monks a "*miserrima conversatio*." So St. Gregory calls the monastic habit "*sanctæ conversationis habitus*." It is simply testifying to the excellence of the translation when one can find nothing to criticize but minutiae of this kind, and only a natural anxiety for a strictly literal version leads one to wish that "*exeuntes a Completorio*" should not be rendered by "when that (Compline) is finished;" or "*obedientiæ bonum*" by "the excellence of obedience;" or that the translator had not sometimes begun and ended his sentences otherwise than in his Latin text, or paraphrased by a gloss the simple word "*digesti*," in chapter viii., into "having had their full sleep." Enough has been said on the merits of this really well-executed translation. In the preface we read that the Latin text, adopted from the edition printed in 1659 by D. Augustine de Ferrariis, has been collated with the thirteenth century MS. actually at Fort Augustus. This suggests a few remarks on the variations in the text of the Benedictine Rule, a subject that has employed the learned labours of the Bavarian Benedictines in their critical edition published at Ratisbon in 1880, and on some of the most ancient extant MSS. of the Rule.

We have no autograph of St. Benedict, though we know that two copies of the Rule, written by his hand, formerly existed, one of them seen by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, in the Abbey of Marmoutier, at Tours, and the other, which, according to Leo Ostiensis, was taken to Rome from Monte Cassino when the monastery was destroyed by the Lombards, brought back to Monte Cassino by Abbot Petronax, to whom it was given by Pope Zachary, in 718, and destroyed by fire in the time of Abbot Ragemprand. From this latter codex a copy was made by Abbot Theudemar as a present to Charles the Great. As regards existing MSS., with the help of Bishop Haneberg, O.S.B.; Mr. W. H. Bliss; Canon Giuliani, of Verona; D. Gregorio Palmieri, O.S.B.; the Rev. D. Keitz, librarian at Fulda; and D. Celestine Wolfgrüber, O.S.B., the Bavarian editors had the satisfaction of being able to collate the oldest fifteen codices known. Of these, two are in the Royal Library at Munich, two in the British Museum, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, one in the Bodleian, one at Fulda, two at Verona, one at St. Gall, one in the

Vatican, one in the library of the Cathedral Chapter at Augsburg, one at Vienna, and one at Einsidlen. The earliest in date is the Oxford manuscript, written about the end of the seventh century; next come the Tegernsee (Munich Library) and St. Gall MSS., belonging to the eighth; while the others were written in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The comparison of these manuscripts has thrown much light on the origin of the well-known and exceedingly ancient *variantes* in the text of the Rule. The manuscripts clearly belong to two families, represented respectively by the Oxford and Tegernsee codices. This is remarkably distinct in the seven earliest, all the MSS. of one class agreeing throughout in their peculiar readings, and differing from the other. The later ones get mixed, though one family predominates. Further, on comparing the Oxford and Tegernsee MSS., the latter looks very much like a revised edition of the former. The solution adopted by the Bavarian editors is that the Saint wrote his rule twice, with slight but frequent textual variations. The two autographs, one taken to Glanfeuil by St. Maurus and the other left at Monte Cassino, became the sources of the two recensions. The older edition is represented by the Bodleian codex. The Fort Augustus MS. belongs to the Tegernsee recension, though, being of late date, it is slightly mixed; so that, out of sixteen *variantes*, taken at random, thirteen agree with the Tegernsee, three only with the Bodleian.

The centenary year of 1880 saw the publication of the two oldest commentaries on the Benedictine Rule, which for upwards of a thousand years had lain hidden in manuscript. From the press of Monte Cassino issued that of Paul Warnfrid, usually known as Paul Deacon. A Lombard by birth, and Chancellor of the Lombard Kingdom under the last of its kings, he was taken prisoner by Charles the Great, whose esteem and favour he won by his learning and piety. His last years were spent as a monk at Monte Cassino, where he died in April 799. Manuscripts of his commentary on the Rule are rare: two are at Monte Cassino, from one of which it was printed in 1880; one in the Royal Library at Munich; while a fourth, the title of which is at the head of this Article, is in the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury. Abbot Hildemar's commentary, first published by the Bavarian Fathers in 1880, is in great part copied from Paul Warnfrid's. It has many additions, however, to Warnfrid's text. Hildemar died in France, in 850. The name of the monastery he governed is unknown. The other works, whose titles head this Article, need no special description.

Glancing through the six centuries that intervene between the foundation of Subiaco and that of Citeaux, one's attention is arrested by the reform or revival of St. Benedict of Anian, who



presided at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, and that commenced at Cluny by St. Oddo about 927, and very faithfully represented by St. Dunstan's reform, who, with SS. Ethelwold and Oswald, established the usages of Fleury and Cluny in England, between 964. and 980; about which latter date a colony of monks cleared the forest, which went by the name of Buckfæsten, or the "deer-fastness," on the banks of the Dart, some two miles from Ayssherperton (now Ashburton), and built the Abbey of St. Mary of Buckfast. Besides the great revival of Aix-la-Chapelle and that of Cluny, there had been between St. Benedict and St. Bernard many vigorous offshoots of monastic life, and we need only recall the names of SS. Augustine of Canterbury, St. Boniface, St. Wilfrid, and St. Bennet Biscop to exemplify the fruitfulness of the Order among Englishmen. But we are concerned only with the inner life of the cloister, not with missionary enterprise; and for permanent and widespread influence the two great centres we have mentioned seem to have a pre-eminence of their own in our history. Their statutes were real developments of St. Benedict's institute. Even in matters of quite secondary importance, the differences between monastic life in the sixth and in the tenth century, as far as we can discern, were wonderfully few; some of them foreseen and expressly permitted in the Rule, and all arising from one or other of two sources, namely, the daily instead of weekly celebration of conventual Mass, and the difference in the length of days and nights in the higher latitudes of our northern climates, which made it inconvenient, or rather impossible, to adopt, at all seasons, such regulations, for example, as finishing Compline and being ready to retire to rest before dark. And now quite enough has been said by way of preamble.

The first point of Benedictine usage that must occupy our attention is the "*dispositio horarum*," the arrangement of hours for the several exercises of the day. As it was not quite the same at all seasons of the year, we will suppose ourselves at the autumnal equinox. In order still more to simplify matters, we might have an eye specially to life as it was at St. Mary of Buckfæsten, in the reign of Edgar the Peaceful, A.D. 980, and compare our own usages with those of other times and places. We should then be living under St. Dunstan's "*Concordia Regularum*"—in other words, be carrying out, in most points, the usages of Fleury or St. Benedict's Abbey on the Loire as they were established in that monastery by St. Oddo, Abbot of Cluny, about the year 930. At about half-past one, the signal is given by the great bell, and the brethren rise from their beds, in the common dormitory where they slept, clothed and girded. St. Benedict had commanded that, except on

Sundays, on which day they were to rise earlier, or at about 1 P.M., they must rise at the eighth hour of the night. According to Roman custom the time from sunset to sunrise is divided into twelve equal parts, and these night hours would of course be longer in winter, shorter in summer. But then, did the hour for rising vary every week or every month? This is in itself improbable, for obvious reasons; and St. Benedict, who, in regard to the day hours, broadly divides the year into two seasons, winter and summer, would hardly have been shifting the hour for Matins all the year round. Our two oldest commentators say simply that he did not, but "*equinoctium custodivit*," kept to the equinoctial time, and counted the eighth hour as 2 A.M. all the year round. At all events, such was believed to have been St. Benedict's intention, and so was it practised by the monks of Monte Cassino in the eighth century. But were the monks to rise at the beginning, middle, or end of the eighth hour—in other words, at 1, 1.30, or 2 A.M.? Abbot Smaragdus, of St. Michael's-on-the-Meuse, in the ninth century, puts the first sign at half-past one, and this was the more common practice on week-days. St. Benedict lays stress on making this part of the divine office a *nocturnal* sacrifice of praise. Hence the constant repetition of such phrases as "*vigiliæ*," "*nocturna laus*," "*nocturnæ horæ*," "*vigiliæ nocturnæ*." Monks are to rest till "a little after midnight," and are "to rise *at night* to praise Him," and fulfil the words of the Psalmist: "In the middle of the night I rose to praise Thee" (Ps. cxviii. 62). Special penance is to be done by any one through whose fault they may have risen later than this the appointed hour. Between the first and second signs of the bell, it became the custom to interpose a considerable interval. St. Dunstan allots to this interval three penitential psalms, with an appropriate collect; then two psalms for the king, queen and friends of the monastery, with collect; lastly two more psalms for the faithful departed. Then, while the boys are entering the choir, a small bell, *tintinnabulum*, is to be kept ringing; and when the boys have finished their triple prayer, apparently a short one, the second bell is to be rung, and the monks sit down to say the fifteen gradual psalms, kneeling after each five, at a sign given by the Superior, and then begin the nocturns. But of all the twenty-two psalms already said, not a word is mentioned in the text of the Rule. The primitive usage of vocal prayer, as laid down by St. Benedict, was simple and comparatively short. Bells of some sort were in use in Benedictine monasteries from the first century of the Order.

To describe the office of Matins itself would be beyond my limits. It was sung standing, and of course, if we are at Buck-

fast, in St. Dunstan's time, according to the plain chant brought from Rome; that subject, however, I willingly leave to more capable writers than myself. If not in the foundation year of Buckfast, yet not long after, the organ was common in English Benedictine monasteries. Matins took more or less time, according as the abbot was more or less speedy in giving the sign to the reader to end the Lessons; if, like Abbot John of Gorze, he had the whole Book of Daniel read through in one night's office, it is probable Matins and Lauds were joined together and lasted till daybreak. As a rule I imagine all was over within two hours, many abbots perhaps even making it much shorter. Matins over, say about half-past three, as we are at September 21, there remains still some time till daybreak, the proper hour for Lauds. How long was this time, and how was it employed? In summer it was very short, in winter longer, and had its own allotted occupations. In later times Lauds were added to Matins without interruption, and even in St. Dunstan's "*Concordia*" the Saint decrees that what St. Benedict says of the summer months only—namely, to leave "a very short interval" between Matins and Lauds—is to be observed in all seasons. The reason was most likely that Lauds were at an uncertain hour; they were to be said "*incipiente luce*," at break of dawn, and uncertain hours easily become inconvenient. But, as long as an interval was observed between Matins and Lauds, St. Benedict would have it employed in study, especially of the Psalms, Lessons, or something that regards the Divine office. Many employed it in prayer, and about the tenth century we find it at Cluny and elsewhere the appointed time for the boys' school of chant, which our fathers seem thus to have thought not contrary to nocturnal silence. There is no doubt that this was owing to St. Benedict's direction—namely, to employ this time in studying the Psalter or Lessons. But the practice was not universal.

Was the time between Matins and Lauds, or between Lauds and Prime, allowed as a time of repose? Though such a practice is not according to the letter of the Rule, and was not allowed by St. Romuald, St. Peter Damian, St. Benedict of Anian, and the earliest Cluniacs, as we learn from Udalric, yet the custom of sleeping after Matins was approved by many saints of our Order at a very early date in its history. Ludovicus Pius (I prefer his Latin title) obtained it for all the monks in his dominions whose monasteries might be situated in towns, a significant circumstance, as I shall presently explain. At Lindisfarne, in St. Corbinian's Monastery, in that of Our Lady at Soissons, at Fleury on all fast-days from Easter to the ides of September, in St. Mildred's at Minster during the Saint's lifetime, in the English monasteries under St. Dunstan's rule on solemn days (between Lauds and Prime), at

St. Vanne from November to Easter in the tenth century (it is said in the statutes of St. Vanne, "that our holy fathers, filled with the Spirit of God, have so decreed," &c.) it was in use. The reason they slept after Matins is plain. The meridian or noon-day sleep allotted by St. Benedict for summer was unsuited to northern countries, while in monasteries situated in towns the monks' intercourse with their neighbours made it impossible for them to go to bed at sunset. On the other hand, St. Benedict's prohibition to rise to Matins later than two o'clock was looked upon as among the more important and inviolable of his statutes; so what was wanted to make up the time of repose was put after Matins. The Carthusians introduced this division of sleep into two parts in the sixteenth century, a circumstance that has assisted them in maintaining intact the rigour of their observance.

We are now come to the interval between Lauds and Prime. This was according to the text of the Rule a short one, not exceeding half an hour, since Lauds were begun at daybreak and Prime is to begin at sunrise, and if we are at the equinox the hour for Prime would be at 6 A.M. This short interval was, according to St. Benedict of Anian, to be employed in washing and preparing for the day's work, by changing the lighter shoes used at night for the day shoes, &c. St. Dunstan puts the time for washing after Lauds in summer, and after Prime at winter, and recommends the prior to allow the brethren to sleep when there is sufficient time to do so, between Lauds and Prime, during the summer months, this morning sleep taking the place of the noon-day repose. Prime begins at six, and, if said as in the Rule, would not exceed a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. But at a very early date several additions were made to the liturgical office of this hour, which remain in vigour to the present day. It is a most striking example of the survival of monastic usages to compare at this point the usages now in vigour in many houses with what is called the "*Ordo antiquus*," published by Martène, at the end of his commentary. This document, by some erroneously ascribed to St. Benedict, by others to his namesake of Anian, but apparently of earlier date than the latter, represents the discipline of over a thousand years ago. The writer ordains that: "When the brethren assemble for Prime, after the office has been ended let them make their confession to one another, all at the same time making humble prayer for one another." The Confiteor is still said, except on doubles. "This being done let them all go to the chapter-house." Neither this author nor St. Dunstan speaks of the commemoration of our departed brethren, which is announced just before leaving choir for the chapter-house, nor of the *De Profundis*, which, by ancient custom, is said on the way thither.

Turning towards the east let them bow to the cross, and make an inclination to the brethren around them and let them do this whenever they assemble. [Both the ceremonial, the position of the chapter-house, and the cross over the abbot's seat have been accurately preserved in many houses to our own day.] After reading the names of the saints, whose feasts are to be kept on the morrow—(the Martyrology)—let them rise (from their seats) and say together the verse *Pretiosa*, after which follows the prayer to be said by the Superior. Next the verse *Deus in adiutorium* three times with *Gloria Patri*. [This triple *Deus in adiutorium* was known as the “versus ad solvendum silentium,” being the signal for ending the nocturnal silence.] Rising after this verse, the Superior follows with the prayer : *Dirigere et sanctificare*.

So far, all has been accurately kept down to our day, as likewise the chapter of faults which follows immediately. This daily chapter is not among the practices formally enjoined by St. Benedict, although grounded on his command to make known at once to the abbot one's involuntary failings, and to humble oneself immediately if anything committed to one's care has been lost or broken, &c. The public chapter of faults is prescribed by SS. Isidore and Fructuosus, and was the universal practice of the Order in the eighth century, and probably in the seventh. The name “chapter” is derived from the practice of reading and commenting on a chapter of the Rule, imposed according to ancient custom by St. Benedict of Anian, before hearing the accusations, and the term is often used for the building in which the chapter is read, and for any assembly held in the same, and hence, as every monastery and monastic cathedral had its chapter-house for the monks themselves, who formed the community of the monastery or cathedral, and later on for the secular clergy, just as we now talk of the chapter of Westminster or Plymouth. The chapter being read, the abbot began by saying, “*Loquamur de Ordine nostro*.” Then, according to the “*Antiquus Ordo*,” any one who “is in fault is to ask for a penance, and to receive it according to the measure of his fault ; and when the senior asks : What is in question ? (*Quæ est causa ?*) he must answer ; *Mea culpa Domine*.” From St. Dunstan's “*Concordia*” it appears that he remained prostrate till he had said *Mea culpa*. Then rising and kneeling in the middle of the chapter-house, he listened to his penance in silence, after which he retired to his place, exactly as is now practised in many monasteries. Udalric, in the “*Consuetudines Cluniacenses*,” immediately after the spontaneous self-accusations, places the proclamations. Any one of the community could proclaim any of his brethren for faults committed. The accused prostrated himself, and the ceremonial observed was the same as that just given. The chapter was

always ended with the verse, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. Qui fecit*, &c., and the brethren went in silence, each one to his allotted task.

It is now nearly 7 A.M., and as we are at the autumnal equinox, we should have to go to read in the cloister till the close of the second hour, so that, as Paul Warnfrid justly interprets the text of our Holy Father, we begin to sing Tierce in the oratory immediately after eight. That gives two good hours of study. Had it been in summer the interval between Prime and Tierce would have been three hours, and employed in manual labour. Tierce did not occupy alone a quarter of an hour, and then, if in summer, the monks would have read till Sext, if in winter, would have gone to manual labour. This, of course, in St. Benedict's time, when Mass was not said every day as it was a couple of centuries later. But about the hour of Mass I shall speak presently; as to details of the nature of this intellectual and manual labour, they are to be had in abundance, but I fear I could not get them within the limits of this article.

Sext is the portion of the Divine Office allotted to noon. The sixth hour is from eleven till twelve, and I find Sext was often chanted or said at half-past eleven, or even a little later, so as to be ended before noon. It may be as well to note that the bell was rung twice before each hour of the Office, to give time to the brethren in different parts of the monastery and the garden or orchard to prepare themselves and be at the oratory in time. When out harvesting in the fields, they said the Office where they were. At one time of the year, then, they would have had, from 8.30 to 11.30, three hours' manual labour.

But at what time did they dine? In Paschal time, and (except on Wednesdays or Fridays) from Pentecost till September 14, at noon immediately after Sext; as also on all Sundays of the year. At all other times, except in Lent, after None. When, then, was None said? At the equinox the ninth hour fell at three; but the canonical Office of None was ended in summer at about three, during the winter months at about two. In the interval between Sext and None the monks worked during the winter months; in summer the time was allotted to repose or reading at option, even on fast-days, an arrangement which in our northern climates was found not to answer, and led to the introduction of sleep after the night watches, the interval between Sext and None being devoted to manual labour or study. After None, on fast-days out of Lent, the brethren went to dinner. In Lent, dinner followed Vespers.

At the hour of dinner [says the "*Antiquus Ordo*"] at the close of the Office let them wait in choir; and when they hear the *cymbalum* [a gong, apparently] let them hasten, but in order and without con-



fusion, having washed their hands, to enter the refectory; and with their faces turned eastward bowing to the cross, let them sit down to table, each one in his place in perfect silence. No one is to presume to eat or drink before the Lord Abbot, but the Abbot should not delay. When they take the bread let each brother say to his neighbour, *Benedicite*, and let them answer *Dominus*, and the same the first time they drink. It is not necessary to ask a blessing for the other dishes that are on the table. Before they begin to take food let the reader ask the blessing. . . . When any dish is brought from the kitchen, let the server begin to serve from the lowest and serve the Lord Abbot last, and then let them sound the *cymbalum* gently, and say together and slowly, *Benedicite*."

The stone basin for washing hands was in the cloister outside the refectory door; the other ceremonies just described, after the brethren have sat down to table, which are not in the Rule, do not seem to have been very widely adopted in the Order.

The custom of singing Mass daily began at a very early date. It was already an ancient custom at Monte Cassino, in Paul Warnfrid's time, and, as a matter of course, modified to some extent the arrangement of hours laid down in the Rule. The Monte Cassino arrangement in the eighth century was as follows: When it was not a fast-day—*i.e.*, when the brethren dined at noon as in the summer, Tierce was sung, followed immediately by Mass, and after a very brief interval, Sext followed. St. Dunstan commands that on solemn feast-days, two Masses be sung, one after Prime, the other after Tierce; at the latter the brethren received Holy Communion. The Saint exhorts monks to communicate every day, and immediately after Mass orders them to take the *mixture* (a piece of bread and a drink), "on account of Holy Communion." This is all I can find that approaches to our idea of a morning collation. When dinner was after None, conventual Mass was sung immediately after Sext, and according to the *Concordia Regularis*, the first bell for None was rung as soon as Mass was ended, the weekly kitcheners left the choir, and the rest sat down in their places, awaiting the second bell for None. Paul Warnfrid expressly says that the bell-ringer is to give the celebrant time to lay aside his vestments and put away all that was on the altar—*sacrificia reponere*. In Lent Mass was sung after None, and a very brief space being left at the end of Mass the solemn chant of Vespers began.

According to the text of the Rule, Vespers were to be said at such time as to leave a sufficient interval for the brethren to get through the few remaining duties of the day without needing the light of a lamp. The hour of Vespers would then be about five in summer, and as early as half-past three in winter. The interval between None and Vespers was employed in reading in



the winter months, and in manual labour during summer. In Lent, as Warnfrid puts it, "None is sung, then Mass, and then follows a brief interval until Vespers. After Vespers: on fasting-days, out of Lent, a brief interval, a quarter of an hour's reading of the lives of the Fathers, Compline, and to bed." On other days, the reading was preceded by the evening collation. The very term "collation," now in universal use to signify the slight evening refection taken on a fast-day, comes from the *Collationes* or Conferences of the Fathers of the Desert, which was read before Compline. One of the books used for this reading before Compline—dating from about the eighth century—is preserved in the archives of the Proto-Monastery at Subiaco. The close of the day is thus regulated in the "Antiquus Ordo:"

Let them go very cautiously to the dormitory, and when a brother has reached his own bed, as he is lying down let him say the Psalm: *Deus in adjutorium* with *Gloria*, and then the verse, "Pone Domine custodiam ori meo," &c., and thus let him fortify himself with the sign of the Holy Cross and sleep in the Lord. Amen.

So far, we have sketched in outline the daily order of a monk's life. Passing on to other questions—how were they clad, housed, and fed? What were their usual studies and their manual labour? Then would come the ceremonial of the cloister. How were they governed? Had they intervals of rest from their daily toil? &c. The subject is far too vast to be dealt with in the narrow limits allowed me, and it will be better to take only such points as can be dealt with satisfactorily, and leave others to some future opportunity.

What then was the form of the ancient habit of a Benedictine monk? what was its colour? what its material? St. Benedict speaks of the tunic, scapular, cowl, girdle, shoes, stockings, ("pedules et caligæ") *bracile*, drawers, and handkerchief (*mappula*). Foreseeing the spread of his Order he expressly indicates that more than this is likely to be needed in colder climates than the one in which he lived; and in all cases things are to be so regulated that all excuse or complaint of wanting anything really needful be cut off. Monks must not complain of the coarseness of material, but must take what is in use where they live or can be got cheapest. Clothes must not be worn to the last extremity, but must be laid up in the wardrobe whilst they are still good enough to be given to the poor. They must have a change of tunic and cowl for the nights and for cleanliness, and when they go abroad must wear better clothes than they do at home. In a word, the whole text of St. Benedict points to one conclusion, a conclusion confirmed by the names of the garments, which were those used by the Italian peasantry of his day. The clothes he gave his monks were good and

plain, the garb, not of the rich, but of labouring men, but not sordid or such as might bring their profession into contempt, to guard against which, he bids them wear somewhat better clothes than usual when obliged to mix with seculars. Now let us come to each garment in particular, always bearing in mind that in St. Benedict's own time, as ever in the Church, the habit of a monk was "*sanctæ conversationis habitus*," and as such was received in the words of the monastic ceremonial as a symbol of innocence and humility, a garment chosen by our Fathers to make us like unto Him who chose to clothe Himself in our mortal flesh.

The tunic was at all times of the form now in use in the Order. Unlike the sleeveless tunics of the Egyptian monks, all the ancient representations of the Benedictine habit show it with sleeves. In all such representations the tunic descends in rather ample folds to the feet or at least to the ankles. St. Benedict insists on the garments of his monks not being short, and I have not yet lighted on any evidence of the short tunic, so common among the Roman peasantry, being used in monasteries.

No part of monastic dress has undergone such a vast change from its original shape as the cowl, *cuculla*. It was simply in its earliest form a cape with a hood attached reaching a little below the elbows. It was indifferently called *cucullus*, *cuculla*, or *cucullio*, by the Romans; was part of the labourer's costume, of coarse stuff and Gaulish origin, alluded to by Juvenal as the "*Venetus, durusque cucullus*" (Satire 3) and is the bardocucullus of Martial. Cassian, SS. Jerome, Ambrose, and Paulinus all speak of it as in common use with monks, while its sharp pointed hood is compared to the rolled up paper-bag in which the shopkeeper sells you incense or pepper:

*Vel thuris piperisve sis cucullus.*

The ancient paintings of St. Benedict show us the sharp-pointed hood rising high over his head. The "*cuculla*" was gradually lengthened till it had to be lifted up on the arms like the ancient chasubles—"a cowl is a chasuble" writes Paul Deacon in the eighth century—then holes were made for the arms. In St. Benedict of Anian's time it reached the knees, by the time of St. Dunstan it had taken its present size and form, and was a long wide-sleeved garment, as appears from St. Ethelwold's life and many sources.

Next we come to the scapular. This was simply a smaller and shorter cowl—that is, a hood and very short cape, more convenient for work than the other. Like the cowl, it was gradually lengthened, but was by almost universal custom left open at the sides and sleeveless. The Council

of Aix-la-Chapelle fixed its length at three feet, but it soon reached to the knees, and then to the feet. In the oldest representations it was not confined by the girdle. In the tenth century at Monte Cassino it had its present shape, but did not reach below the knees, as appears from paintings in some MSS. of that date. The front and back pieces were united by bands under the arms, after the actual Carthusian usage. An inextricable confusion has been caused by some authors calling both scapular and cowl *cuculla*, others very rightly distinguish between the *cuculla major* and the *cuculla minor*.

Of what material were the garments made? The Rule says only "of such as can be procured at a cheap rate;" though at a very early period linen was forbidden in the Order, and the monastic habit was made of wool. The Egyptian monks used linen.

Now we come to the vexed question of the colour of the original Benedictine habit. Laying aside a few instances of the use of grey or brown, as with Cistercian lay-brothers, or as seen in the habit of St. Boniface at Fulda, or among the monks of Savigny, who held sway at Buckfast for a very brief period, we have the rival claims of black and white to consider. St. Benedict expressly leaves the question of colour to be settled by convenience. There is a consensus that from the earliest days the scapular was usually of a dark colour, and I think the weight of evidence is in favour of the same for the cowl, though not perhaps quite so strongly. The question turns mainly on the tunic. In France the white colour prevailed in the earlier ages. It was that used by St. Benedict of Anian, and, according to Mabillon, by St. Maurus and first monastic apostle of his country. The Egyptian monks, to whom St. Benedict repeatedly alludes, wore a white tunic. On the other hand, the monastic apostles of England and their successors seem to have always worn the black habit, which at a very early date prevailed at Monte Cassino. In the conflict of authorities, I may perhaps hazard a conjecture. St. Benedict, from his love of simplicity, used a tunic of undyed wool, probably of a greyish tint; after the destruction of Monte Cassino, the monks who took refuge in Rome adopted the black colour in use in St. Gregory's monasteries. By St. Gregory's monks it was brought to England, where it served perhaps as one more point of rivalry in the contest with the white-robed Keltic monks, and through the universal respect for Roman usages, it eventually became the prevailing colour in the Order. Such Reforms as were less immediately connected with Rome preferred the white, which they thought a nearer approach to St. Benedict's original garb. In Paul Warnfrid there is a passage in which, commenting on St. Benedict's text, he says that monks

ought not to complain if the stockings are white and the tunic dark. I more than half suspect that the practice enjoined by the Cassinese Declarations, to wit, that the tunic be black and stockings white, was in vigour in Paul's time—*i.e.*, in the eighth century, and possibly much earlier.

What were the shoes and stockings of the ancient monks like? As regards stockings, nothing very certain can be laid down. In the eighth and ninth centuries, according to Warnfrid and Hildemar, the *pedules* were simply what we should call trunk hose. The custom of having different kinds of shoes for work and for the house was universal. The form varied from the sandals that are depicted in the Cassinese MS. to the boots reaching above the knee described in the Customs of Farfa and of St. Benignus at Dijon. The hobnailed shoes used when working in the fields are often alluded to. Paul Warnfrid says that grease for greasing the shoes is to be kept in a vessel where every one can get at it; but, he adds very naively, if it turns that someone steals it, it will be best to give each one a quantity to himself. There were fixed days for the greasing of the shoes, just as Tuesday was the day for the beginning of the week's washing.

The *bracile* was a broad girdle worn under the habit next the loins. Sometimes a leathern belt, sometimes a hempen girdle was in use. Woollen shirts were ordered to be worn by St. Benedict of Anian for reasons of climate, and whenever black dyed cloth for the tunic came into use, being inconvenient for washing, white woollen underclothing followed it, as at Cluny and elsewhere. The monks slept on palliasses; their coverings were sometimes of wool, often of skins of animals.

One word as to the monastic tonsure. Three forms of tonsure were known to our forefathers: the Eastern, which shaved the whole head; the Scoto-Irish, which shaved the front of the head from ear to ear, leaving the hair long and flowing on the occiput; and the Roman, which left a crown of hair round the head. The use of the razor for the head was not universal at first; in many places it was the distinctive mark or privilege of such as were in holy orders to have the head shaved with the razor.

Now I come to another important point in monastic customs—namely, how were Benedictine monasteries built? Uniformity in this respect is so carefully guarded, in such widely different localities, and from such an early date, that I have no hesitation in believing that on this point our monastic traditions are derived from the directions of the great monastic lawgiver himself, as they are strikingly convenient for the exercises of the monastic rule. The main lines are everywhere the same, except when some peculiar feature in the site chosen for building necessitated

a departure from them. The church built east and west, with the choir in front of the high altar, lies to the north of the monastic buildings. Had it lain to the south, its great height would have shut out warmth and sunlight from the cloister. The monastic offices are distributed round the cloister, whose four sides are built according to the points of the compass. On the west side are the porter's lodge and guest-rooms; on the south, the kitchen and refectory; on the east, the principal hall is the chapter-house, running east and west like the church, with a stone bench round it. The dormitory and library are above the east and south cloisters. The north gallery of the cloister abuts on the church, and as most of the day's work is done in community, the covered gallery running round the cloister is a convenient means for going processionally from one office to another. The monks in summer sat and read in the cloister; in winter, St. Dunstan orders that they should have a hall to serve as calefactory, opening off the cloister, probably on the east side, next to the chapter-house. This is all I intend to say on monastic buildings, and will only remark in conclusion that at every epoch in Benedictine history, and never more than when monasteries were governed by saints and monks led lives of extreme austerity, a never-failing instinct led them to rear buildings of chaste simplicity, but of surpassing loveliness. I know of no better examples than the remains we possess of Cistercian architecture within the first hundred years from St. Bernard. As the author of a book on monastic architecture, that mingles many errors with much that is just and true, observes—

In monastic architecture all is seemly and noble. . . . We do not pass from vaulted aisles to sheds and hovels. In stone halls, as seemly as the builder's art could make them, were the poor, hungry bodies fed and the weary limbs laid to sleep; the very kitchens were massive and picturesque, and wise design and honest work were not thought out of place in even humbler offices.

And thus in the lessons for the Office on the Feast of St. Victor III., we read in our breviary that he built the abbey church of Monte Cassino so that it seemed to be a "*reclinatorium angelorum*." And precisely as monastic observance relaxed, the chaste and noble seemliness of the house of God gave place to a corrupt and vicious taste for flimsiness and overloaded ornament, often more profane than sacred, and uninspired by the religious symbolism that is the breath of life of religious art. But this is a digression, and if any one wishes to observe the unity of plan in monastic buildings, he has only to place side by side

half a dozen ground plans of monasteries, as far apart in time and place as St. Gall or Westminster, Fleury or Buckfast, and in every case let him take as his starting-point the west wall of the south transept. This wall prolonged gives the wall of the eastern gallery of the cloister, leading to the chapter-house.

And now as to monastic fare. They ate twice a day when it was not a fast-day; once only on fast-days. The use of meat was allowed to the sick and infirm, as well as to the aged and to children: to all others it was forbidden. From the fact that St. Benedict in his prohibition specifies the flesh of quadrupeds, the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle allowed the flesh of fowls at Christmas and Easter, a practice in use at Monte Cassino in the eighth century. By some sort of tacit agreement, this interpretation of the rule, never a universal one, seems to have been condemned, and abstinence from the flesh of fowls observed with the same strictness as from that of quadrupeds throughout the Order about a century later. All congregations founded under the rule of St. Benedict, which profess to retain abstinence, exclude both alike. It is otherwise with regard to the practice of cooking dishes with lard or the fat of animals, a custom almost universally adopted within the period to which we are confining ourselves. St. Benedict of Anian, St. Dunstan, the Cluniacs, are at one on this point. The Fathers of Aix-la-Chapelle forbid the use of it on all Fridays, and St. Dunstan does not allow it in Advent, except on feast-days; in Lent it was forbidden. A very good idea of monastic fare is given us by Warnfrid's Commentary. St. Benedict allowed at dinner, bread, two cooked dishes, and fruit; at supper, the third part of the pound of bread. The good Lombard first justly remarks that the word *pulmentum* is used in the Latin translation both of the Old and New Testament, and signified at St. Benedict's time any kind of food besides bread. In the present instance it means vegetables, fish, cheese, &c., but not flesh. Then he goes on:

On ordinary days, if the heat or labour are not excessive, there should be two cooked dishes and one uncooked at Sext. At supper, if they sup, there should be one cooked dish; and as St. Benedict ordered two-thirds of a pound of bread to be given at dinner and one at supper, so likewise ought we to understand concerning the *pulmenta*.

Hildemar expressly includes eggs among the items of monastic fare. Warnfrid adds that on feast-days or at times of excessive labour, three cooked dishes and one uncooked one were allowed at Monte Cassino at dinner, and repeats the same in his letter to Charles the Great. There can be little question though, that Mabillon is right in saying that during the first ages of our



Order, the ordinary food consisted of bread and vegetables, and that fish and eggs, though not forbidden, were deemed more or less an indulgence to be allowed on certain days. The later Cluniacs only allowed fish twice a week; cheese or eggs were allowed on other days, but only in one dish; the other was of vegetables only, beans being everywhere the favourite food of monks. The Cluniac usage was already a decided mitigation of the rigour of earlier days such as observed by St. Benedict of Anian and his first disciples, with whom everything beyond bread and vegetables was an exceptional feast. During Lent, of course, only one meal was allowed, and that after Vespers. At this season the customs of Fleury command that on all Wednesdays and Fridays nothing is to be eaten with bread but raw herbs; beans or something of the kind on other days, to which the cellarer is to add fish on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. These details will give a general idea of the somewhat variable austerity in food in early Benedictine times. A knotty problem is that of the real meaning of a pound of bread and the *hemina* of wine allowed by St. Benedict. The Cassinese editors of Paul Deacon have given us in their preface the best essay that has yet appeared on the subject. The measure of the pound of bread now extant at Monte Cassino, consisting of a brass weight with the inscription, "*Pondus libri Panis Beati Benedicti*," can be traced back as described by Peter the Deacon in the beginning of the twelfth century to Abbot Bonitus, who took it with him to Rome when the abbey was burned by the Lombards in the time of Pope Pelagius. The inscription in letters of silver was placed on it by Gregory II. The weight of bread is 1053 grammes, or over two pounds. Is this really the measure intended for one person, or had our forefathers, working in the fields as they did, such powerful appetites?

A more serious difficulty arises with regard to the measure of wine. The ancient Cassinese Declarations expressly declare that the *hemina* of wine preserved at Monte Cassino is more than enough for the ordinary wants of one monk in a day. Yet the size of the *hemina* is confirmed by the Kremsmunster cup, which dates from St. Tassilo's time in the eighth century, and from several other authorities. As the aforesaid measure of wine is pretty nearly two quarts, I must leave it undecided whether it is the *hemina* intended by St. Benedict for each one's consumption or not rather a measure of two *heminae*. St. Benedict is explicit in drinking very sparingly, and by ancient rule in Monte Cassino wine was always to be mixed with water.

With these four heads of ancient monastic discipline—to wit, the arrangement of hours, the food, clothing, and dwellings of monks, I must bring this article to its close. It would be useless to



attempt saying anything on monastic liturgy and ceremonies; to make of it a useful essay it would have to be treated separately. It may astonish some to see that in the circle of monastic duties, our earliest Fathers allotted no special place to mental prayer. But the whole life of the monk was in their idea but one round of prayer, and the continuous silence (another subject that needs special discussion), as we find no hour in the day allotted for recreation, made it far less needful then than it now is, to assign special times for recollection. How, again, was maintained between the brethren that fraternal charity, the exuberant overflowing whereof is so frequent a theme in the lives of our monastic saints and of their disciples, and which drew such countless thousands to the cloister; and what was the range of monastic studies; and how were monks received and professed; and what the care taken of the sick; and what were the regulations for health and cleanliness, are among the subjects that would have more or less interest for students of our monastic history.

It was always a belief among our forefathers, and, I think, a well-grounded one, that the text of the Rule, if carried out in its entirety, adding nothing to it and taking nothing from it, was singularly discreet in its provisions, and adapted to all classes of men. St. Hildegard writes:

He was a sealed-up spring, which poured forth its waters with the wisdom of God's discretion, clinching the sharp nail of His teaching neither too high nor too low, but in the very centre of the wheel, so that every one, weak as well as strong, could easily drink of it, according to the measure of his strength.

ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.

#### ART. VI.—THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

1. *An Historical and Archæological Sketch of the City of Goa.* By JOSÉ NICOLAU DA FONSECA. Bombay: Thacker & Co. 1878.
2. *Les Possessions Portugaises dans l'Extrême Orient.* Par CHARLES GRÉMIAUX. Paris: Challamel Aîné. 1883.
3. *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier.* By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
4. *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses.* Por FERNÃO LOPEZ DE CASTANHEDA. Lisboa. 1883.

THE Iberian Peninsula, constituted by nature warden of the straits that lead from the outer to the inner seas, claimed in the fifteenth century to own, by right of pre-emption, the

new worlds its sons had made known. Rodrigo Borgia, himself a Spaniard, when reigning in 1493 as Pope Alexander VI., drew a meridian on the globe in the longitude of the Cape de Verde Islands, and, with a hemisphere in either hand, awarded them to Spain and Portugal respectively, as the prizes of maritime discovery. Yet, so rapidly did the ambition of conquest overpass even the vast limits thus assigned to it, that the pretensions of the rival powers clashed ere many years, at the opposite point of the earth's circumference, and the possession of the Molucca Islands, 160 degrees east of the original line of demarcation, was hotly contested between them.

A condition was attached to the gift of the bisected universe, that of propagating over its surface the tenets of the Catholic faith; and this stipulation of the title-deeds of dominion was, in its primary sense, scrupulously observed. The missionary accompanied the pioneer, and the conquests of the cross went hand-in-hand with those of the sword. But the victors of the latter, while carrying with them Christian doctrine, left behind Christian morality: they adopted the vices, while denying the rights, of the conquered; and the lustre of their achievements was dimmed by the records of their cruelty, their rapacity, and their excesses.

Thus, even at their Belshazzar's feast of luxury and prodigality, the dread handwriting of doom was already tracing the flaming sentence of retribution. Castilian and Lusitanian alike were weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the splendid inheritance of both fell to another race, whose sturdier virtues have better borne the strain of universal dominion. The Anglo-Saxon, the heir of Columbus in the West, as of Gama in the East Indies, has wielded, not unworthily, the lapsed sceptre of the seas, and England, holding in her hand a leash of empires that girdles the globe, dispenses equal justice to three hundred million freemen of all tribes and tongues from the rising to the setting of the sun.

The meteor empire of Portugal fell from its own inherent corruption. Born of the epic age of a nation, it decayed with the heroic qualities that had called it into being, and crumbled as rapidly as it had grown. Enervated by vice, deteriorated by climate, debased by contact with an enslaved population, the once imperial race effaced itself by assimilation of the lower elements around it. Indiscriminate intermarriage produced a people of swarthy mongrels, in whom the European type is absolutely obliterated in the third generation, rendering the descendants of the proud fidalgos indistinguishable from those of their hookah-lighters and palanquin-bearers. Political decadence necessarily accompanied physical degeneracy, and the

few existing fragments of the vast maritime dominion of Portugal, with its "five thousand leagues of coast," survive but among the *memento mori* of history, to point the moral of the instability of human greatness.

The purely nautical character of Portuguese rule was indeed a main cause of its ephemeral span of duration. Nowhere did the conquerors seek to extend their possessions inland, and, like the mangrove, they may be said never to have taken root out of reach of the tidal wash. The country in their rear was ignored by them, and their settlements remained isolated posts, maintaining their communications by water alone. The barrenness of the element they depended on for existence attended all their conquests; and their cities, mere depôts for sea-borne trade, remained excrescences on the soil whence they had sprung. Commercial, not colonial, extension, was the ideal of Portuguese rule, and commercial corruption was the canker-worm that sapped it at the root.

Trade with the East, ever the foundation of political greatness in Europe, had flowed, down to the voyage of Bartholomew Diaz, in two main channels. The first led from Central Asia, across Persia, to the great emporium of Byzantium; the second, from the ports of India and the Persian Gulf to those of the Red Sea, and thence overland to Alexandria, with the Arabs as its principal carriers eastward, and the Venetians westward of the Nile. The Roman Empire in the time of Pliny received from India goods valued at 550 million sesterces (about £1,400,000) a year, mainly consisting of precious commodities of small bulk, sold in Europe for one hundredfold their original price. Spices and drugs, such as frankincense, cassia, and cinnamon, used as incense in worship, and as embalming compounds in funeral rites, were among the principal imports, the remainder consisting of precious stones, pearls, and silk, the latter valued, in the time of Aurelian, at half its weight in gold. The introduction of silkworms into Europe in the reign of Justinian, by two Nestorian monks, who smuggled the eggs in the hollow of a cane, undermined this trade, which had previously been monopolized by Persia.

The idea of an ocean route to India, fermenting in men's minds through the Middle Ages, was the great stimulus of nautical enterprise among the rival powers on the Atlantic seaboard. The problem missed by Columbus, in a failure more glorious than success, was partially solved by Bartholomew Diaz, who, in 1487, first sighted the extremity of the great African peninsula, but despaired of the possibility of navigating the seas beyond. With a juster prescience of the imports of the discovery, John II., the monarch to whom it was reported,

altered the name of Cabo Tormentoso, "Cape of Storms," conferred by the navigator on the southern point of Africa, to that of "Cape of Good Hope," regarding it as the visible sign-post of the road to India.

Yet when Vasco da Gama, ten years later, collected his little fleet of three sloops of war, the largest but 120 tons, and prepared to sail from Lisbon Roads to the undiscovered East, he and his brother adventurers were regarded as men who had devoted themselves to death. The night previous to their departure was spent in the seaside chapel of Belem (Bethlehem), in solemn prayers and offices, and on the morrow (July 8, 1497) the navigators were accompanied to their ships by a procession of chanting clergy and choristers, while a vast multitude lined the beach, weeping and lamenting over their certain doom. The voyage that ensued is doubly memorable in the annals of literature and of geography, since it not only made known the coast of India, where the port of Calicut was reached on May 20, 1498, but furnished the muse of Camoens with the theme of "*Os Lusíades*," the national epic of Portugal.

A series of expeditions followed that of Gama. The first, which sailed in 1500, is remarkable for having blundered on an Empire. Its Commander, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, having steered too far to the west, sighted some high land previously unknown, landed, erected a *pádrao*, or commemorative column, and thus accidentally took possession of the great region of Brazil.

An inconclusive period of squabbles, skirmishes, and alliances followed, in which the littoral princes of Hindostan, the Zamorin\* of Calicut, and the Kings of Cochin, Diu, and Cananor, were alternately played off against each other. An active phase of conquest was certain to follow this tentative one of exploration, and events only waited the advent of the controlling genius who should direct them. The destined founder of the Portuguese empire in the East appeared in due time in the hero historically pre-eminent among his peers by the title of "the Great" Alfonso d'Albuquerque.

Born in 1453, the Lusitanian Cortes was fifty years of age when he sailed on his first voyage to the East. He then occupied a subordinate position, but three years later, when starting, in 1506, on his second Indian expedition, he carried with him, unknown to himself, his patent as viceroy of the Indies in a sealed envelope, to be opened only at the end of three years, when Francisco d'Almeida's term of office should have expired.

The genius of the great captain grasped at once the governing fact of the political situation, and recognized that foreign com-

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\* Said to be a corruption of the Telugu word, "Samrat," a sovereign.

petition rather than native hostility was the chief element of danger to the commercial enterprises of Portugal. The Arabs, indiscriminately termed Moors by Christian historians because Mohammedan in religion, had from time immemorial been the brokers of the East, and, in the chain of seaports girdling the Indian Ocean, either exercised sovereign power or occupied a position of commercial supremacy. To the latter category belonged Calicut, where Vasco da Gama had narrowly escaped destruction from their intrigues, and to the former Ormuz and Aden, sentinels respectively of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs.

But it was not alone the vested interests of the Arab traders that were imperilled by the Portuguese discoveries. The principal revenue of Egypt, derived from dues—five per cent. on entrance and ten on export—levied on merchandise in transit from the East, was threatened with annihilation, while the entire trade of Venice was equally imperilled. The latter State consequently subsidized an alliance between the Soldan of Egypt and the Zamorin of Calicut for combined action against the interlopers, and a fleet built at Alexandria with materials supplied by the Republic of the Lagoons, was transported on camel-back across the Desert, and launched at Suez on the Red Sea. Nothing, indeed, but the subsequent disturbed state of politics in Europe prevented the enterprising citizens of Venice from executing their project of a canal from Cairo to the Gulf of Suez, thus reviving the enterprise of Pharaoh Necho, and anticipating that of De Lesseps.

Equally grandiose designs, destined to equal futility, were revolved by Albuquerque. One was the desolation of Egypt by the diversion of the Nile through Abyssinia, with the assistance of the Negus, then identified with Prester John; the other, nothing less than such an heroic feat of body-snatching as the rape of Mohammed's coffin from Medina, depriving Islam of one of its two great centres of fanaticism.

Uneasy and insecure as yet was the Portuguese position on the coast of Hindostan, where the viceroy, d'Almeida, was embroiled with the native princes. His rule had done little to raise the reputation of his countrymen, and his death, in 1509, in a skirmish with Kaffirs on the coast of Africa during his homeward voyage, was regarded as a retribution for the barbarous execution of his prisoners, blown from the guns at Cananor, as well as for his other cruelties and oppressions.

His withdrawal left a free hand to Albuquerque, whose policy had run in many respects counter to his own. The new viceroy desired to extend the Portuguese dominion by the occupation of an increased number of points along the littoral, and cast his eye on the great prize of the Malabar coast as the foundation

stone of the empire of his dreams. Goa, situated on an island in the estuary of the Mandavi river, at the foot of the Western Ghats, had long been recognized as a great commercial centre, and was now the chief emporium of Southern India. Its ruler, a Mohammedan prince, whose lengthy appellation—Adul Muzaffer Yusuf Adil Shah—is usually merged in the more compendious title of the Savai or Sabaio, from Sava, the place of his education, was the hero of a career of romantic vicissitudes such as are only recorded in Oriental annals. Born in the purple, the son of Sultan Amurath II., his early years were spent in slavery, his mother having, on the death of his father, in 1451, surreptitiously bestowed him on a Persian merchant, as the only means of saving him from the family massacre which in the East usually inaugurates a new reign. His master, Kwaja Imad-ed-din, carried him with him to the town of Sava, whence, at the age of seventeen, he was warned by a dream to betake himself to Southern India.

Here, though servitude was again his portion, he rose rapidly in the favour of his new master, Kwaja Mohammed Gawan, vizier of one of the princes of the Deccan, and captor of Goa, which he had taken in 1469. His young slave first distinguished himself as a soldier in the royal body-guard, and finally rose to the status of an adopted son. Appointed governor of Daulatabad, and afterwards of Bijapur, he was, in 1489, crowned king of the latter principality, which became, under him, an independent State, with Goa as its commercial capital.

This royal changeling ought to have proved a formidable antagonist even for Albuquerque, but when the latter, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line and 1,200 fighting men, appeared off the mouth of the Mandavi in 1510, superstition had already paved the way for his triumph. A yogi, or inspired seer, had foretold the capture of the city by foreigners from beyond the seas, and the prediction secured its own fulfilment. Eight of the principal citizens went to present the keys to the invader, the Sabaio withdrew without a struggle, and Albuquerque found himself master of Goa, which he entered in triumph under a rain of gold and silver filigree flowers from windows and balconies. But the halcyon days of this easy conquest were of brief duration. Adil Shah returned at the head of an army, and, on May 23, 1810, recaptured the city and drove the invaders to their ships. The Portuguese, cut off from the shore, soon began to suffer the horrors of famine, being reduced to devouring rats and all such loathsome food, but Albuquerque held on to Goa with the grip of a bulldog on the part where he has once fastened his teeth. His opponent, desirous of tempting him to betray his condition, sent out a boat laden with the most



delicate provisions, but the great captain's spirit was equal to the emergency. Ordering the wine and biscuit reserved for the sick to be displayed in festive array on deck, he bade the enemy take back his supplies, as the Portuguese were revelling in luxury.

Such tenacity could not but prevail in the end. Reinforcements arrived, bringing up the Portuguese strength to twenty-eight ships with 1,700 men, and on St. Catherine's Day, Nov. 25, the town was carried, after an obstinate defence, in which 2,000 of the enemy fell. The victory was stained by the indiscriminate massacre of the Mussulman population, and "Goa's purpled shore" was ensanguined with the blood of 6,000 victims—men, women and children. Albuquerque, who, like many of his countrymen, combined piety with ferocity, vowed a church to St. Catherine in honour of his blood-stained triumph, and the plunder of the city furnished him with the means of keeping faith with his patroness. The nominal fifth of the spoil reserved for the Crown amounted to £20,000, but this sum represented a very much smaller proportion of the booty really appropriated. No time was lost in securing the new conquest by the erection of forts at all vulnerable points, while palaces and churches sprang up with equal rapidity. Albuquerque, who desired his soldiers to become colonists, encouraged them to marry native women, summarily baptized, of course, as a preliminary, giving promotion and appointments to those who did so, a policy which, however expedient at the time, conduced eventually to the physical and moral degeneracy of the colony.

Goa thus made safe, he turned his eyes in the year following to an equally tempting prey, whose possession conferred the key of the sea-gate of China. Malacca, the City of the Straits, was then a great mart, throned on the threshold of the East, and sated with Asiatic vice and luxury. The capital of an independent Mohammedan State, with a population of 100,000, it held out but nine days against Albuquerque's band of 1,400 heroes, despite a power of resistance testified to by 3,000 pieces of ordnance captured, in addition to those carried off by the retreating Moors.

Given up to pillage, it yielded vast booty, yet at the lapse of a few months had regained more than its former prosperity, and become the second jewel in the crown of Lusitanian conquest. It is thus apostrophized by Camoens, in celebrating the deeds of Albuquerque :—

Nor shalt e'en thou escape a like mishap ;  
 In vain thy wealth—thy dawn-wrapt site in vain—  
 Aurora's nursling, cradled in her lap—  
 Malacca, well-styled opulent—the rain  
 Of venom'd darts that doth thy foes enwrap  
 Shall help thee not, nor lances hurled amain ;



And Java's hardy sons, Malay impassioned,  
Shall to the Lusitanian yoke be fashioned.

"Lusiads," canto x. stanza lxiv.

The next conquest was due to one of those happy accidents, happily availed of, which chance only to heroes in a heroic age. The stratagem by which a shipwrecked Portuguese crew, under Antonio d'Abrea, turned the tables on a band of Malay pirates engaged in plundering their vessel, led to the discovery, in 1512, of the fragrant archipelago of the Moluccas. For the castaways, emerging from an ambuscade, and possessing themselves of the corsairs' ship, the latter offered to ransom it by guiding the strangers to a rich and favoured isle. This proved to be Amboyna, and the Portuguese, by taking sides in a native war then going on, gained a permanent footing there.

The taking of Ormuz in 1515 was the last exploit of the great captain. This island city, the trysting place of all the motley populations of Asia, was so famed for its splendour that an Eastern saying declares that "if the world be a ring Ormuz is its jewel," and so notorious for its evil manners, that pious writers wondered they did not draw down such a fiery retribution as overwhelmed the Cities of the Plain. Miraculous intervention was supposed to have facilitated its conquest, which is narrated as follows in the "Lusiads":—

But lo! in meteor blaze see shine afar  
The arms of Albuquerque, which shall tame  
The Parsis of Ormuz, o'er-brave to war,  
'Gainst yoke so mild, subjection void of shame.  
There shall be seen shafts sped with strident jar,  
Wheel round in air and fly reversed in aim  
'Gainst those who hurled them, for the skies fight ever  
For those who to extend Christ's faith endeavour.  
Nor there shall mounts of salt suffice to save  
From fell decay the bodies slain in fight,  
Which shall the strand encumber, strew the wave  
By Khargun, Muscat, and Khelayat's bight.  
Thus shall they learn from force they may not brave  
To bow the neck and tribute yield of right.  
The homage of their impious realm to measure,  
In pearls of Orient Bahrein's, lucid treasure.

"Lusiads," canto x. stanzas xl. and xli.

The ruler of Ormuz, Seif-ed-din (Sword of Religion), was compelled to pay a yearly tribute of 15,000 xeraphins,\* and allow the conquerors to erect a fort in his dominions, which, with another at Socotra, placed them in a commanding position,

\* The xeraphin is 200 reis, about 1fr. 20c., the milreis being 5fr. 60c.

astride of the road to India. The conquest of the City of Pearls crowned and closed the career of Albuquerque, but did not avail to sweeten his last moments, over-shadowed by remorse for all the bloodshed he had caused. He died at Goa, in December 1515, and was buried in the church he had raised to St. Catherine, in honour of his victory there. The inscription on the threshold (*Y quien mas hiziere passe a delante*) bids him who has done more take precedence of him, but a more touching tribute to his grave was long paid in the flower-offerings and prayers of the Hindoos, who thus invoked as a protector against oppression the shade of one always remembered by them as a beneficent ruler. The portrait of the great captain, hung with those of the other Viceroy in the Council Hall of Goa, represents him as a man of sad and cadaverous aspect, with weary lustreless dark eyes, and exaggerated length of nose and jaw, clad in the same style of costume which we are accustomed to associate with the very different physiognomy of bluff King Hal.

Unscrupulous as to the means by which he carried out his great designs, the memory of Albuquerque, like that of most commanders of his day, is stained by many dark and treacherous actions. Thus the brother of the zamorin was induced by him, in 1513, to poison that prince, the grant of a fort at Calicut to the Portuguese being the price of their connivance in the foul fratricide.

One of the victims of his cruelty had a strange story. A member of an unhappy band of Portuguese deserters, recaptured in the taking of Goa, he suffered, with his fellows, the barbarous sentence of mutilation. With the right hand amputated, the left deprived of two of its fingers, and otherwise gashed and disfigured, he was on his way to Europe, when, the ship having called for water at the then uninhabited island of St. Helena, he hid himself and remained behind. On some small supplies charitably left for his benefit, he contrived to exist, and, helpless as he was, scooped out a shelter or burrow for his nightly sleeping place. As he always concealed himself from the approach of visitors, these traces of mysterious habitation at first proved startling to callers at the island, but the story of the recluse becoming known, it grew to be a habit to land provisions and even goats and kids for his use. A cock, fallen overboard from a ship, rescued by him from the surf, and fed from his store of rice, became his constant companion, never leaving him day or night, and a Malay boy subsequently shared his solitude. He eventually attracted the attention of royalty, was brought home to Lisbon, visited by the king, and provided with a hermitage where he passed the remainder of his life as a reclaimed Robinson Crusoe.

The prestige bequeathed by Albuquerque to the Portuguese name contributed in no small degree to still further extension of dominion. Thus, within ten years after his death, his successors had explored the China Seas, sighted the Australian shores, visited New Guinea, planted themselves in all the principal islands of the Indian Archipelago, negotiated treaties with Bangkok and Pekin, and won at Macao a permanent foothold in the jealously guarded dominions of the Son of Heaven. The Indian Ocean was girdled with their settlements on its eastern as well as on its western shores, and the fabled riches of the Oriental world were poured into the lap of Portugal. From all the harbours of Europe ships flocked to the mouth of the Tagus to distribute thence the products of the East, and the Lisbon merchants sold for almost their weight in gold the precious cargoes of their wave-beaten galleons and carracks.

But the centre of this sudden efflorescence of commercial prosperity was the newly won capital of Portuguese India, and the name of Goa Dourada, the Golden City of the East, became a synonym for luxury and opulence. "Quem viô Goa excusa de ver Lisboa" (he who has seen Goa may dispense with seeing Lisbon), said the proverb, and indeed the daughter city soon outshone the mother, even as Carthage did Tyre. Her quays were thronged by merchants from every part of Asia, from Armenia to Cathay, as well as by Venetians, Germans, Flemings, Castilians, and English. The sandal-wood of Java, the camphor of Borneo, the cinnamon and cloves of the Moluccas, the silks and porcelain of China, diamonds from Golconda, pearls from Bahrein, were landed on her wharves, and paid heavy toll to her prosperity. Capital was multiplied a hundredfold by a single voyage, and fortunes grew with mushroom-like rapidity. If legitimate commerce did not thrive, there were indefinite possibilities of pillage, and an unlimited supply of slave-labour absolved from toil the enervated European inhabitants.

Life was cheap in this sensuous paradise, where a man could maintain himself for one tonga or five sous a month, while amusement of a congenial kind was abundant in gaming-houses and exhibitions of jugglery and dancing. The counter influence of religion was visible in the presence of seventy or eighty churches and convents, and the treasures of the bazaars were lavished on the shrines. Window-panes of translucent oyster-shell, like those of modern Canton, screened the indoor privacy of the ladies, and gorgeous palanquins maintained their seclusion when they went abroad. White villas, peeping from the palm groves of the environs, gave rural tranquillity to the busy merchants, and breathing space to a population of 200,000 souls packed within the circuit of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  miles of walls.

Fleets of merchantmen, sometimes numbering 240 sail, left the port in company for mutual protection, but were forbidden to engage in the spice trade, reserved as the monopoly of the Crown. This privileged branch of commerce, amounting to 30,000 quintals (3,840,000 lb.) annually, with a profit of £45,000 sterling, was subsequently transferred to the *Companhia das Indias Orientaes*, but this, like all successive attempts at a Portuguese East India Company, was driven from the field by the competition of the trading officials of Goa excluding all interlopers.

A powerful fleet kept the seas clear of pirates from September to April, but was laid up in dock during the summer months, which were a dead season. The military force embarked in it consisted of a sort of militia organized on a peculiar plan. The muster-roll of all entered in its several grades was kept in Portugal, but no pay was drawn by the men, nor was service obligatory. Proclamation was made, when the fleet was being fitted out, that a certain number of men were wanted, when such as wished to serve volunteered, taking the rank they occupied on the muster-roll. While unemployed, they lived at their own expense, forming a disorderly element of the population. All claimed the rank and title of *fidalgo*, whence they were called, contemptuously, "*fidalgos of the Cape of Good Hope*." Cards and dice were the solace of their ample leisure, and in the gaming-saloons of Goa the ill-got earnings were so lightly lost that the groups of three and four, who chummed together in bachelor quarters, frequently possessed but a single suit of clothes in common, and had to take turns for outdoor appearances. It may be easily imagined that neither manners nor morals benefited from the presence of this horde of dilapidated swashbucklers, who, used to all military licence, while subjected to no military discipline, were ready to hire themselves out for the most nefarious purposes.

Of the civilian society in Goa, ostentation and prodigality were, as in all purely commercial communities, the leading features. Early travellers vie in descriptions of the magnificence of the Portuguese magnates, and are never tired of marvelling at the pomp of their surroundings and the effeminacy of their manners, at their insolence and their splendour, their wealth and their prodigality. The *fidalgos*, we are told, did not stir abroad without a retinue of attendants to hold umbrellas over their heads, to fan them, or brush away the flies that molested them. As wheel-carriages were unknown, they were either carried by *boyas* in silk-cushioned palanquins, or rode horses, with gold and silver trappings, and reins studded with gems and hung with silver bells, while the stirrups were

of no baser metal than silver gilt. Yet these stately cavaliers were not ashamed to live on the earnings of their slaves, male and female, hired out, irrespective of all feelings of humanity, to the highest bidder.

When the Viceroy went abroad, which was only on rare occasions, he was attended by a train of these glittering courtiers.

A day previous to his appearance in public [says Da Fonseca] drums were beaten and trumpets sounded as a signal to the noblesse and the gentry to accompany him on the following day. Accordingly, early in the morning, about three or four hundred fidalgos appeared in the Terreiro do Paço, clad in rich attire, mounted on noble steeds with gold and silver trappings, glittering with pearls and precious stones, and followed by European pages in rich livery. With such a splendid cavalcade did the Viceroy show himself in public.

The Goanese ladies were no whit behind their consorts in the pomp and circumstance with which they surrounded themselves. The author last quoted gives an extract from an early writer, François Pyrard, describing the progress to church of an Indo-Portuguese dame of condition.

Rich and noble women [he says] go seldom to church except on the principal festivals, and when they do they appear richly dressed, after the fashion of Portugal, the dress mostly of gold and silver brocade adorned with pearls, precious stones, and with jewels on the head, arms, neck, and round the waist; and they put on a veil of the finest crape in the world, which extends from head to foot. Young maidens wear veils of different colours, whilst grown-up ladies invariably use black ones.

The stockingless feet of these shrouded dames were thrust into tiny slippers embroidered with gold and silver spangles, gems and seed-pearls, while a sole of cork, nearly half a foot in height, rendered the wearers almost as helpless on their feet as Chinese beauties. Their devotional outfit, taken into the church by Portuguese or Eurasian servants as soon as they descended from their richly adorned palanquins, included a valuable Persian carpet called *alcatifa*, which in Europe would be worth five hundred crowns, and two or three cushions of velvet or brocade, one for the head, another for the feet.

A number of servants and slaves [continues our author] follow them on foot, richly attired in silks of different colours, with large, fine crape over all, which they call *mantos*. But they do not dress after the European fashion, but clothe themselves with a large piece of silk which serves them as petticoats, and have also smocks of the finest silk, which they call *bajas*. Among these slaves are seen very beautiful girls of all the races inhabiting India. And it is to be remarked that the ladies are also accompanied by pages, and by one or two Por-

tuguese or Eurasian gentlemen to assist them in alighting from the palanquin. Frequently, however, they are taken into the church in their palanquins, so much are they afraid of being exposed to the public view. They do not wear any masks, but paint their cheeks to a shameful degree. It is not that the ladies fear being seen, but they are forbidden by their husbands, who are too jealous of them. One of the servants or slaves brings a rich carpet; another, two costly cushions; a third, a china gilt chair; a fourth, a velvet case containing a book, a handkerchief, and other necessary things; a fifth, a very thin, beautiful mattress to be spread over the carpet; and a sixth, a fan and other things for the use of the mistress.

As already stated, these ladies, when they enter the church, are taken by the hand by one or two men, since they cannot walk by themselves on account of the height of the slippers, which are generally half a foot high, and have the upper part open. One of these presents holy water to the lady, and she goes afterwards to take her seat, some forty or sixty paces off, taking at least a good quarter of an hour to walk that distance, so slowly and majestically does she move, carrying in her hand a rosary of gold, pearls, and precious stones. This they do all do, according to their means, and not according to their quality.

Thus bedaubed and bedizened the attendance of a Eurasian dame at service must have tended rather to distract the devotion of others than to increase her own. Unless, indeed, they are sadly maligned, these ladies gave anything but an edifying sample of Christian manners to the heathen. The policy of Indo-Portuguese marriages, initiated by Albuquerque, proved fatal to the best interests of the colony, not only promoting the permanent adulteration of the race, but perpetuating that lower scale of morality which only the influence of European ladies could have helped to raise. The women of the settlement were necessarily coloured in varying degrees, and formed no exception to the rule according to which East Indian half-castes are an unmitigatedly vicious race. Christianity, hastily improvised for the purpose of marriage by the wives of the first colonists, was never perhaps perfectly acquired, and as religion may almost be said to be entailed in the female line, the influence of Christian motherhood was practically eliminated. Ignorant and isolated, surrounded with material luxury, yet devoid of mental culture, the Goanese ladies became rapidly learned in all the baser arts of the East. Adept in the use of drugs and potions, they knew how to produce insensibility, temporary mental alienation, or death. It would scarcely have been safe for a Goanese lady to accept from a rival beauty a dish of those delicate conserves, or fruit candies, for whose preparation the Eurasian ladies were equally and more creditably famed. Neither did their husbands scruple



to avenge an insult or rid themselves of an enemy by the same means, poison, if we may trust travellers' tales, being resorted to by the viceroys themselves, while the venality of justice secured impunity for all crime committed by the noble or influential.

The money so lavishly spent was acquired by all forms of extortion and speculation. Thus 4,000 soldiers under pay figured on the rolls as 17,000, and the same rule of multiplication was doubtless applied to all branches of administration. Hence, it is not difficult to understand how viceroys frequently returned with £300,000 fortune, after a triennial term of rule, while governors and generals amassed £100,000, and minor officials from £20,000 to £50,000 each. A remarkable passage in the "*Soldado Pratico*," a work by a Portuguese writer, Diego da Couto, on the decadence of the Portuguese in India, says that no one who returned with wealth from the East ever kept it, that the money appeared to be excommunicated and disappeared as if it were enchanted, and that it went as it had come by infernal agency, seeing that most of it was coined from the blood of innocent people. When we remember that the African slave-trade also sprang from the same phase of society, for the record in the pages of Osorio, Bishop of Silves, of the annual importation of 10,000 or 12,000 negroes into Portugal previous to 1541, disproves the assertion that it was indirectly caused by Las Casas' exertions in favour of the Indians, we can indeed believe that a curse should have rested on the Portuguese empire in the East.

But one imperishable glory at least remains to it, as a set off against its many shortcomings. A fame that has survived the wreck of all its material splendour, haloes even to-day the melancholy capital of Portuguese India, and the East still thrills, after the lapse of three centuries, to the name, greater than that of any conqueror with the sword, of him who sleeps in Goa. Into that society, so corroded with vice and self-seeking, there stepped, like a Presence from another world, the figure of the greatest Apostle of modern times, and, as in the dawn of creation, light forthwith was born of darkness. Francis Xavier, then in his thirty-seventh year, landed in Goa in 1542, and began that crusade owing to which, before ten years, 1,200,000 of the heathen had embraced Christianity. But his first efforts were directed to a reform of society in Goa itself, and his letters remain on record to prove how much it was required. In one addressed to Simon Rodriguez, Superior of the Jesuit Order in Lisbon, he warns him to let no one in whom he took an interest accept any financial post under the government in India, as the temptations were such as no virtue could resist. He then goes on to describe as



follows, the general debasement of the standard of honesty in India :—

Robbery is so public and common that it hurts no one's character, and is hardly counted a fault; people scarcely hesitate to think that what is done with impunity it cannot be bad to do. Everywhere and at all times it is rapine, hoarding, and robbery. No one thinks of making restitution of what he has once taken. The devices by which men steal, the various pretexts under which it is done, who can count? I never cease wondering at the number of new inflexions, which, in addition to all the usual forms, have been added in this new lingo of avarice to the conjugation of that ill-omened verb to "rob."\*

To combat the evils rampant in this capital of the Mammon of unrighteousness, St. Francis brought rare gifts, even from a purely worldly point of view. The courtly breeding acquired in his ancestral castle near Pampeluna, the grace of manner conferred by a brilliant secular education, the geniality of his temper, the vivacity of his disposition, combined to give him a charm that the most hardened could scarce resist. An infinite patience and gentleness, a charity that could stoop to all personal humiliation to gain its ends, an infallible tact, an unflinching sympathy, were among the gifts of a reformer who may well be called the courtier of sinners. He insinuated himself into their affections, won their confidence, shared their pursuits, became the hearty comrade of the outlawed soldier, the sparkling table-companion of the callous worldling—then, when the hour of grace arrived, unmasked his batteries of religious persuasion, and compelled the most strongly intrenched fortress of iniquity to surrender at discretion.

The conversion of one noted sinner, whose life was a scandal even in Goa, was effected by a masterly strategy of silence. Appealing to his hospitality for a dinner, after a fashion not unusual with him, the Saint affected unconsciousness of the accessories of heathen licence and luxury amid which the banquet was served, entertained his astonished host, who was momentarily expecting a denunciation, with the conversation of an accomplished man of the world, and took leave of him without a word of spiritual counsel. The pointed omission made a greater impression on the sinner than the severest homily would have done, he thought with horror that his case must indeed be hopeless if Francis thought him beyond rebuke or reclamation, and hastening to the feet of the Saint next day, he promised a reform of his way of life, which he carried into practice without delay.

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\* "Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier," Henry James Coleridge, S.J., p. 278.

On another occasion, Francis, in one of his many voyages, was the shipmate of a soldier ill-famed among adventurers of his class, as a notorious reprobate. To this man the once haughty Navarrese cavalier inseparably attached himself, seeking his constant society, patient of his rude conversation, tolerant even of his blasphemies. He would stand by him at the gaming-table, sharing to outward appearance his hopes and fears, rejoicing when he won, sympathizing when fortune turned against him, yet all the while playing himself for another stake, the soul of the abandoned outcast. At last the moment came when the subject of religion could be broached, and the man acknowledged that for eighteen years he had held aloof from its practices, and that when last, in Goa, he had attempted to make a confession, the priest had turned him away, horrified at the list of his iniquities. The benign saint declared that he, on the contrary, armed with the fullest powers to absolve and reconcile, would listen to the tale though it should last till Doomsday, and that at its conclusion, like good comrades, they would divide the penance between them. At the first landing-place touched at this amicable arrangement was acted on, and the rest of the ship's company, having collected from curiosity to watch the proceedings of the strangely assorted pair, learned with amazement, when the soldier had been shriven, that the recitation of a single *Pater* and *Ave* was the sole penance imposed on him. The mystery was solved by following the Saint to a wood, where he was found undergoing his share of expiation in the form of a severe flagellation, the contrition of his penitent being increased a hundredfold by the sight.

Another of these desperadoes, also associated with Francis in a sea-voyage, was saved by him from self-destruction, in a paroxysm of despair at the loss, at the gaming-table, of a large sum of money entrusted to him for a commission. While all present were horrified at his blasphemies and execrations, St. Francis, having borrowed among the bystanders sufficient for a stake, handed it to the man, saying, "Come, my friend, let us try our luck again." The stake was won, and while the Saint stood by, fortune so favoured his client that the trust-money was rapidly recovered and the suicide saved and converted.

Even the worldly concerns of his friends were matters of interest to the human kindness of the great apostle, and legends of his intervention on their behalf are rife in Goa. Thus Cosmo Añez, one of his intimates, having purchased a very valuable diamond on his own responsibility, and sent it to the king, Francis, becoming suddenly thoughtful one day at dinner, asked him the name of the vessel carrying it. "I should rather it had been any other," said he on being informed, where-

upon Afiez, much alarmed, begged him to pray for its safety. A few days later, meeting his friend again, he bade him give thanks to Heaven, as the diamond was safe in the hands of the Queen. It subsequently transpired that the ship had been in danger of foundering from a leak, and the captain was about to run her on shore, when the water mysteriously ceased to gain, and the rest of the voyage was made in safety. To another merchant, returning home with valuable goods, Francis predicted a prosperous journey, bidding him in no extremity be prevailed on to throw his merchandise overboard. The warning was remembered when, during the voyage, the ship grounded, and the captain, wishing to lighten her by sacrificing the cargo, was deterred by the energetic protest of his passenger, who declared that he had the word of Francis to the contrary. On this statement he refrained, and his faith was rewarded a little later, by seeing his ship floated off uninjured by a very high tidal wave.

The anecdote of the horse tamed by the hand of St. Francis Xavier recalls, in its playful familiarity with nature, some of the legends of his earlier namesake, the Angel of Assisi. In passing through the streets of Goa, he saw a splendid barb, which, by rearing and plunging, offered the most violent resistance to the process of shoeing. Going up to it and caressing it with his hand, Francis addressed to it the playful remonstrance: "Brother horse, how is it that, so beautiful as you are, you will let no one put shoes on you?" The animal became tractable in a moment, and a quadruped was added to the list of the Xaverian converts.

Associated with the residence of the Saint in Goa is one of the most picturesque figures of the Portuguese conquest, that of the chivalrous Viceroy Joam de Castro, who died June 6, 1548, after two years and eight months of office. He is the hero of a celebrated anecdote which, despite its whimsicality, has a real place in history. It was after the relief of Diu, where his lieutenant, Mascarenhas, had been besieged for eight months by the forces of Rumezan, the young King of Cambay, that the Viceroy, being pressed for money, sent to borrow £20,000 from the city of Goa on the security of one of his mustachios, which he sent as a pawn. The citizens not only responded to the appeal by sending the money and returning the pledge, but the ladies added the value of their jewels to the amount. This splendid satrap, who loved the glitter of his office, showed Goa a magnificent spectacle a little later, when he entered in quasi Roman triumph with 600 prisoners in his train, surrounded by the rich spoils of Eastern war. It was in reference to this display, that Donna Catalina, Queen of Portugal, remarked that "he had conquered like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen."

Such was his attachment to St. Francis, that he would not allow him to leave Goa during his last six months of life, and when his brilliant career came to an end it was in the arms of the Saint that he breathed his last. Many of the other Portuguese authorities were far from looking with equal favour on the work of the apostolate, and, despite the reform and conversion of many individuals in Goa, there is evidence that the feeling of the community was hostile to a movement which threatened to limit its tyranny by securing recognition for the rights of the oppressed natives. Many of the letters of St. Francis contain references to his griefs and vexations on this score, of which the following may serve as a specimen :—

To hear, as I do, that our Christians are persecuted and oppressed both by the heathen and by the Portuguese, is a thing which wounds my heart to the very core, so atrocious and so mischievous is it.

The kidnapping by the Portuguese of subjects of the native princes in whose dominions he was preaching often endangered the safety of his flock, and other arbitrary acts of violence brought the Christian name into disrepute.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, whole sections of the native populations adopted Christianity almost *en masse*, and in Travancore alone Francis founded forty-five churches, and made 10,000 converts in one month. In this district it is on record that the "Great Father," as he was called, went about barefooted, wearing an old black cap and a torn cassock, that his pulpit sometimes was a tree, and his altar canopy a rude shed made of the rails of boats. A singular feature of his apostolate was the use he made of children-catechists to instruct and convert others. Armed with a bead or crucifix worn by the Saint, these little neophytes are said to have worked miracles and even raised the dead in his name, converting whole villages by their teaching, and often burning the idols worshipped by their own parents.

The personal influence of St. Francis was very powerful even with the Brahmins, whose material interests were, however, too dear to them to be sacrificed to admitted truth. On one occasion, questioning one of them as to the secret tenets of his religion, the great Jesuit was much surprised to hear him repeat in a low voice, as though in reluctant admission, the familiar text of the Ten Commandments.

One of the most active companions of the Xavierian mission to Japan was a lay brother of the name of Joan Fernandez. This young man, a very rich silk merchant of Cordova, was, when in Lisbon, accidentally taken by a friend to hear the music in the Church of the Jesuits, and was suddenly seized

with a desire to join the Order. He applied to Father Simon Rodriguez for admission, but the latter, doubting his vocation, and knowing his fashionable antecedents, put him to a severe test by requiring him to ride, dressed as he was, down the principal street of Lisbon, seated on a donkey with his face to the tail. As the neophyte underwent this novel species of ordeal without flinching, he was accepted by the Superior, and eventually sent to the East, where his energy and capacity rendered him a most serviceable coadjutor.

The apostolic labours of St. Francis were comprised within a term of ten years. China was the Promised Land of his wanderings, and the island of Sancian his Mount Nebo, whence he was permitted to look on it only from the edge of the tomb. Thwarted to the last by the Portuguese authorities, and the object of the special hostility of the Governor of Malacca, he died here, lonely and abandoned, save by a solitary attendant, in a hut by the shore, on December 2, 1552. The fame of his sanctity grew and spread after his death, and his body, which had been hastily enclosed in a coffin, with a quantity of quick-lime, was removed to Malacca in a ship called the *Santa Croce*. Prodiges attended its transit; the sick were healed by the touch of anything that had been in contact with it, and the plague, which was desolating Malacca, ceased when it entered the port on March 22, 1553.

The people of Goa coveted the possession of the precious relics, which were removed secretly by night, at the close of the year, and embarked on board a crazy ship, whose voyage, with many vicissitudes, lasted till March 15 following. Borne through the streets on the morrow—Passion Friday—between houses hung with rich tapestry and brocade, with smoke of incense and strewing of flowers, the dead Saint made his triumphal entry into Goa, and the coffin was deposited in the College of St. Paul, to the thunder of saluting forts and chime of pealing bells. The body, which long remained unaltered by decay, and is still in a state of comparative preservation, was at first freely exhibited to the people, but the difficulty of keeping order in the crowds that thronged to approach it, and of protecting it from the pious violence of relic-hunters, compelled its guardians to be more chary of showing it. It is now only visible on rare occasions in the Jesuit Church dedicated to the Infant Saviour, whither it was finally removed, and where it rests in a magnificent shrine, the object of veneration to Pagans and Christians alike.

The miracle by which Goa was saved from capture on November 24, 1683, was the occasion of the posthumous titles of Viceroy and Capitan Mor, or Captain-General of the Indies,

being conferred on the apostle and protector of Goa. A Maratha army had reached the island of Santo Estevão, separated from that of Goa only by a narrow creek, and all hope of saving the town seemed lost, when the Viceroy, the Count of Alvor, repaired to the shrine, and, depositing there his patent and staff of office, requested the Saint to accept the government and assume the protectorate of the city. This had scarcely been done, when a Moghul army was seen descending from the Ghats, and the enemy decamped without delay. Each succeeding governor since then takes from the hand of the silver statue of St. Francis the staff of Indian cane symbolical of his office, and replaces it by a new one, thus receiving his credentials as the gift of his saintly predecessor. Thrice only in the last hundred years—in 1782, in 1859, and in 1878—have the venerable relics been exhibited to the public gaze. On the last two occasions, the exposition, begun on December 2, lasted in 1859 till the 6th, and in 1878 till the 8th of January. The throng of pilgrims from all parts of India, reckoned at 200,000, was so continuous, that it was necessary to keep the church open day and night, and many conversions and miraculous cures were effected.

The Saint is visible in an upright position, enclosed in a glass coffin, clothed in rich vestments, with a cushion behind his head. The body has shrunk much in height, and little more than desiccated skin remains on the face and extremities, but the teeth and hair are well preserved, and the circle of the tonsure is very apparent. The right arm is wanting, as it was detached by order of the Pope on November 3, 1614, and divided into four portions, of which the principal was sent to Rome.

The memory of St. Francis is held in peculiar reverence by the natives of India, so much so that a mosque was dedicated to him on the west coast of Comorin, and a temple built in his honour by the Rajah of Travancore. It is only when pilgrims throng to his shrine that the desolate port of Goa is animated by anything like its former bustle, and that the decayed capital seems resuscitated to a memory of its departed glory.

Its decadence set in within twenty years of the death of Francis, and was inaugurated by the subdivision of the governments of the East under Don Sebastian in 1570. Three great provinces were then formed, that of Monomotapa, extending along the coast of Africa, between Capes Corrientes and Guardafui; that of India, comprised between Cape Guardafui and the island of Ceylon; and of Malacca, reaching from Pegu to China. The disaster of August 4, 1578, when Don Sebastian and the flower of his army perished on the African battlefield of Alcazar-



Kebir, gave the death-blow to the independence of Portugal, and the dominions of the Lusitanian Crown were two years later absorbed in those of Spain. The latter power paid little regard to the interests of the Eastern provinces, and when Portugal, by a successful revolution in 1640, recovered her national independence under John of Braganza, a few decaying settlements were all that remained of her magnificent colonial empire.

Formidable rivals had wrested away her commercial monopoly, the Dutch had driven her from the Moluccas in 1606, and in 1612 the company of English merchants, whose emulation had been first aroused by the rich cargoes of captured galleons laden with gold and spices, silks, porcelain, and drugs, obtained a footing at Surat on the peninsula of Hindustan.

The treaty concluded in 1654, between Portugal and Holland, left the former only Goa, Diu, Meliapore, and a few minor factories on the coasts of India, Macao in China, and half the island of Timor in the Indian Archipelago, while Brazil, ransomed for a sum of eight million francs, remained an appanage of the Crown of Braganza until 1822. The portentous growth of the Anglo-Indian empire crushed out whatever vitality might have been left in the Portuguese settlements, and they continued to exist only as insignificant enclaves in the wide domain of the paramount power. Bombay was ceded to England in 1661 as the dower of the Infanta Catherine on her marriage with Charles II., and, by a treaty concluded in 1703, Portugal accepted a position of subordination to England in matters of commerce and navigation.

Meantime the decline of Goa had been rapid and continuous. Maratha raiders and Dutch privateers were among the items of her misfortunes, and to these were added the partial silting up of her port and frequent visitations of cholera and fever due to the growing unhealthiness of the site. But, above and beyond all, her decay was due to internal corruption in a society founded originally on fraud, and steeped in the lees of its own excesses. So abrupt was the change in a few years that M. Tavernier, the French traveller, who described the Goanese ladies, during his first visit, in 1641, as living with the pomp of Eastern sultanas, found them at his second—in 1648—reduced to solicit alms, though he takes care to note that their pride evaded the humiliation of personal solicitation, by sending their pages to beg, while they remained in their litters. The decrease in the population was correspondingly rapid, and the figure of 225,000, reached in the early half of the seventeenth century, had, ere its close (1695), fallen to 20,000.

In 1759, after many tergiversations, the Government finally decided on the abandonment of the old capital, and the trans-



ference of the city to Panjim, now called New Goa, six miles lower down the river. The expulsion of the Jesuits at the same date completed the ruin of Old Goa, which in 1775 had but 1,600 inhabitants left. The suppression of the other religious orders in 1835 had equally unhappy results, and the abandoned churches and monasteries add to the desolation of the scene. Old Goa, once the Queen of the East, is now as completely ruined as Tadmor or Thebes, and shapeless masses of masonry buried in cocoa-nut groves mark the sites of palaces and warehouses. Some of the churches alone are still in preservation, and the cathedral bells, chiming the hours of prayer through the surrounding jungle, are an emblem of the religious associations that have survived the obliteration of all its worldly splendours.

New Goa has indeed inherited little else from the past. A drowsy town of some 16,000 inhabitants, its commerce, despite its fine harbour, is on a minute scale, and its annual revenue, which, to its credit be it said, a little more than balances its expenditure, is but £108,148. The island on which it stands has an area of 48 square miles, and a double frontage of navigable water. Its native name, Tisvadi, meaning thirty village communes, is still almost statistically accurate, as the number of these municipal units only exceeds that figure by one. No satisfactory etymology has been discovered for the name Goa itself, but that of Panjim is derived from *panji*, arable land above the reach of floods. The inlet, bounded north and south by the promontories of Bardez and Salsette, is divided into two anchorages, Agoado and Mormugão, by the Cabo or point of the island projecting between them. The land is low, but a continuous fringe of palm-forest relieves its shores, while the rugged outlines of the Western Ghats give them a picturesque background of mountain horizon. The town seen from the water has the charm which white buildings, mirrored in blue water, and smothered in tropical foliage, must always possess. The climate is relaxing, and the average rainfall during the triennial period ending in 1875 was 100.22 inches.

The territory of Goa, measuring about sixty miles by thirty, has an area of 1,062 square miles, of which 234,754 acres are under cultivation; and its population of 392,234, is divided into 232,089 Catholics, 128,824 Hindoos, and 2,775 Mussulmans. The little State is diversified with mountains, of which one peak, the Sonsagor, attains the height of 3,827 feet; and traversed by several dwarf rivers rising in the Ghats, the two longest being the Zuari and Mandavi, with courses of 39 and 38½ miles respectively. The division into the Velhas and Novas Conquistas (Old and New Conquests) implies different dates of annexation,

and a trifling distinction in rural organization. The village communes in the Velhas Conquistas, numbering 137, are so many organic centres, holding land in common and dividing the produce between their members after paying taxes and charges; while in the 257 villages of the Novas Conquistas, the vangor, or clan, is the collective unit, exercising the functions of proprietorship and distribution.

Rice is the staple produce, and is cultivated under two heads, the summer crop, called sorodio, sown in May or June, on ground watered by the monsoon, to be harvested in September; and the winter crop, vangana, dependent on artificial irrigation, sown in November and gathered in February. The increase varies from six to tenfold, according to locality, and the cost of culture is from one-third to one-half the value of the crop. In the rainy season of 1876, the total production was 443,171 khandis (a measure of 266 lb.), but the quantity grown only suffices for eight months, the remainder having to be supplied from abroad. Public granaries, called *celleiros*, have been organized as a safeguard against famine, the ever-haunting spectre of Eastern governments. The selling price of rice in 1874-5 was less than 1*d.* per lb., 2*s.* for 26 lb. being the actual rate.

Next in importance among rural industries is the cultivation of the cocoa-nut (*cocos nucifera*), grown generally on level ground and along the seashore. The Jesuits devoted much attention to its culture, and produced a valuable treatise on the subject called "*Arte Palmarica*." Cocoa-nuts form the principal export of Goa; and other tropical fruits and spices, areca nuts, mangoes, water melons, cinnamon, and pepper come next in order of precedence, the remainder consisting of salt-fish, gum, firewood, and salt. The principal imports, in addition to rice, are sugar, wines, tobacco, cloth, glass, and hardware.

Prices are very low, as a good cow may be bought for a pound and a pair of buffaloes for five, a pig for sixteen shillings, and a fowl for sixpence. The wages of artisans are 1*s.*, of labouring men 6*d.*, and of women 2½*d.* a day. A man-servant is paid 4*s.* a month, but maids receive only their food, with a periodical suit of clothes, and a present of ornaments on their marriage. Palanquins, termed *macas*, *catres*, or *cadeirinhas*, carried by four boys or bearers, are the chief vehicles, horse carriages being unknown.

The political divisions of the Portuguese possessions in the East consist of the Province of Goa, and districts of Damão and Diu, ruled by a governor-general with a Junta or Council; and of Macao, Timor, and Cambing, under a governor. The Portuguese colonies are so far assimilated to the mother country,

that they send deputies to the Cortes, and, while defraying all their own expenses, contribute a quota to the naval budget of Portugal. The general direction of their affairs is confided to the Junta Consultiva do Ultramar, sitting in Lisbon.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown of Portugal in the East Indies, maintained unimpaired down to a very recent date, was the last survival of its former imperial sway. Deriving its original title of possession from the award of the Holy See, the condition annexed of religious propaganda was faithfully carried out. The first missionaries, chaplains in Albuquerque's fleet, were Dominican friars, established in Goa in 1510, and these were followed seven years later by Franciscans, who proved very active and successful preachers. Within the first eight years of their arrival, they held a like number of public baptisms, in which 7,000 natives were admitted into the church, and they made many converts throughout Southern India and the adjacent Archipelago. Goa, created on November 3, 1534, an Episcopal See, with jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope to China, but still suffragan to that of Funchal, received from the Franciscan Order its first bishop, Fr. João de Albuquerque, a man of great piety and learning. Under his auspices many of the native princes had embraced Christianity, even before the ten years' preaching of St. Francis, 1542-52, had given the great impetus to native conversions. Such increased extension of its authority entitled the See of Goa to be raised to archiepiscopal rank, conferred on it on February 4, 1557, and its Metropolitan in 1606 assumed the title of Primate of the East, while the King of Portugal holds that of Patron of the Catholic Missions of the East.

The Inquisition, the stern remedy for grave evils, its methods those of the age in which it flourished, was early established in Goa, and soon exercised a power co-ordinate with that of the Church and State. Only the Viceroy and Archbishop of Goa were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Grand Inquisitor, and even they had no power to withdraw others from it. Remote as it was from the centre of ecclesiastical authority, the Holy Office of Goa sometimes ventured to defy that of the Holy See itself, and a signal instance of such an abuse of power occurred in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Father Ephraim, of Auxerre, a Capuchin friar of great virtue and eminence, was the victim of the persecution, of which national jealousy on the part of the Portuguese at the establishment of his convent at Madrespatan, under shelter of the English guns at Fort St. George, is believed to have been the motive. Having repaired to the neighbouring Portuguese fort of San Thomé, as mediator in a dispute between the authorities of this

post and those of the British settlement, he was seized by the Portuguese Commandant, put in irons, and carried by sea to Goa, where he was imprisoned in the Palace of the Inquisition. This high-handed proceeding created great excitement throughout the Carnatic, and the mode of redress first sought was characteristic of the time and place. It was no less than the kidnapping of the Governor of San Thomé, whose very piety was made a means of ensnaring him. At the instigation of Father Zeno, another Capuchin monk, the Irish commandant of Fort St. George sent a party of soldiers to lie in wait for the Portuguese governor on his way to a little mountain shrine which he was in the habit of visiting every Saturday. The plot was successful, he was captured and lodged in the Capuchin Convent of Madrespatan (now Madras), only half a league distant, and there held as a hostage for the Superior. With the connivance of his guards, however, he found means to escape at the end of two days, and, making his way to his own territory, was received with great jubilation at San Thomé.

But the captivity of Father Ephraim, who had influential connections, his brother being M. de Château des Bois, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, could not fail to make a stir in Europe; the King of Portugal, as well as the Pope, was appealed to, and the latter actually threatened to excommunicate *en masse* the whole clergy of Goa if the prisoner were not released. What neither royal nor papal mandate could bring to pass was successfully effected by the intervention of a Mohammedan prince. The King of Golconda, a zealous friend of the imprisoned Father, having then an army on foot engaged in fighting the Rajah of the Carnatic, ordered his troops to besiege San Thomé and ravage the Portuguese settlements if the Inquisition did not surrender its prey before the expiration of two months. Father Ephraim was accordingly released, but only consented to quit his prison when the clergy of Goa went to escort him thence in public procession.

He had suffered from fifteen to twenty months' incarceration, during which he was not allowed even his breviary, and only by stratagem secured materials for writing to solace his weary hours. A pencil secreted under his arm-pit escaped the search of the familiars of the Holy Office, and the wrappings of the cigars perpetually smoked by his companion, a Maltese reprobate, supplied the paper for his manuscript. This occurrence was still recent in 1648, when M. Tavernier,\* on his visit to Goa, saw and spoke with Father Ephraim, and heard from him all details

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\* "Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Chevalier Baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes." Paris, 1682.

of his captivity. One singular result, according to the traveller, was produced by it—the cure of the prisoner's squint, from the constant concentration of his sight in a particular direction, in writing by the light of a very small window.

The cruelties practised on prisoners of the Inquisition have been, however, much exaggerated, and Senhor da Fonseca thus describes their régime, at page 217 of his valuable work:—

As regards the treatment generally given to the prisoners in this palace, it appears that the rigour of the Inquisition was not carried to such a frightful extent as is generally believed. In fact, the prisoners were, in point of food and clothing, far better off than those in the civil jails. Each prisoner was confined in a separate cell, and was provided with a bedstead and a mattress, and, if he were a European, with a quilt. All prisoners were served daily with three meals; breakfast at six o'clock A.M., consisting of rice gruel for natives, and a three-ounce loaf, fried fish, fruits and sometimes sausages for the Europeans; dinner at ten A.M., and supper at four P.M., consisting of rice and fish. The Europeans were better provided for, as they had bread and meat twice a week for dinner, and bread, fried fish, rice and fish or egg curry almost daily for supper.

Guards were stationed in the corridors, and strict silence maintained under penalty of whipping, but no torture was applied to the prisoners, either in the cells, or when under examination. The sick received every care and attendance, but were denied all religious ministrations save those of a confessor when in actual danger of death. The dread solemnity of the auto-da-fé, when the prisoners were delivered over to the secular arm to undergo their various sentences, took place every two or three years, and the fullest details of its lugubrious pageantry, as well as all other particulars on this subject, are found in the narrative of Dellon.\*

The jurisdiction of the Crown of Portugal was confirmed and extended by the Concordat of 1857, by which all British India was placed under the royal patronage, and the Holy See was precluded from exercising any act of authority save with the consent of the Portuguese Government. Several attempts having been made to induce the latter to abandon its claims, the Supreme Pontiff published the brief, *Studio et Vigilantia*, by which seven vicariates were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Goa. In the negotiations which followed, lasting through the whole of 1885, the Pope desired to leave only the actual Portuguese territory under the Royal patronage, while Portugal, on her side, claimed the re-establishment of the historical dioceses of Cranganor, Cochin, Meliapore, and Malacca. A compromise was at last

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\* "Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa." Amsterdam, 1719.

arrived at, and a new Concordat negotiated, by which the archdioceses of Goa and Cranganor, with the suffragan dioceses of Cochin and Meliapore, remain under the patronage of Portugal, the Goanese churches of Malacca and Singapore being attached to the Portuguese diocese of Macao, while the Holy See regains its freedom of action throughout the greater part of British India.

The conclusion of the Concordat was immediately followed by the publication of the apostolic letters *Humanæ Salutis Auctor*, under date of September 1, 1886, constituting the Catholic hierarchy of Hindustan. The archbishopric of Goa is hereby erected into a metropolitan See, and its titular raised to the dignity of Patriarch of the East Indies, with the suffragan sees of Cranganor, Cochin, and Meliapore submitted to his authority. All the other apostolic vicariates of Hindustan, with the island of Ceylon, and the Prefecture of Central Bengal, are erected into dioceses, and seven have the rank of archbishoprics—namely, Agra, Bombay, Verapoly, Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry, and Colombo. The missions of the Punjab, Agra, Patna, Central Bengal, Vizagapatam, Mysore, Kandy, Sinde, Poona, Mangalore, Verapoly, Colombo, Jaffna, Coimbatore, Pondicherry, Madras, and Hyderabad are freed from the yoke of a double jurisdiction, which still exists only in those of Madura and Bombay. It is furthermore laid down that the archbishops and bishops of India shall communicate with the Propaganda, while the Patriarch of Goa and his suffragans shall address themselves to the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.\*

Thus vanishes the last imperial prerogative of that dazzling conquest by which the little kingdom of the Tagus, the terror of Asia and the envy of Europe, realized the golden dream of ages, and entered into possession of the glowing wonder-world of the elder universe. The prize of that epoch of romance, when nature, not yet ransacked of all her treasures, had still secrets wherewith to reward adventure, and the bold mariner, sailing into unknown seas, might chance upon new heavens and a new earth, it had a glamour which still clings to its faded memory, and invests the deserted streets of the once Golden Goa with such a visionary halo, as must ever cling to the wreck of Empire.

E. M. CLERKE.

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\* *Catholic Missions*, November, 1886, p. 106.

# ART. VII.—THE INFLUENCE OF FATALISM ON OPINION.\*

1. *The Signs of the Times.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. 1829.
2. *On Democracy:* an Address read before the Midland Institute, Oct. 6, 1884. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.
3. *Manifesto to the Electors of Midlothian.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. Oct. 1885.
4. *On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion.* By Sir GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, Bart.
5. *On Compromise.* By JOHN MORLEY. London: Macmillan. 1886.
6. *History of an Idea.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. 1886.

MORE than fifty years ago Carlyle ventured to denounce what he called "The Mechanism of the Age," in an essay† marked with all the picturesque vigour and richness of his style. He bewailed the tendency which substituted or threatened to substitute the press, magazines, cyclopædias and hand-books for permanent literary achievements, subjected the free aspirations of art to Academies and Societies, and made politicians grope for an ideal in constitutions and institutions rather than a statesmanship based on principle. The "mechanism," he declared, which had subdued external nature, was trespassing beyond its proper sphere. It had usurped the domain of life, thought, and morality, and was then sapping the springs of originality and freedom. Hence the endeavour to explain virtue away, reducing it ultimately to fear of pain or hope of pleasure, and to make duty to one's neighbour merely equivalent to a self-regarding benevolence.

The new wonders wrought by physical science had produced a misleading enthusiasm for reducing everything to a system, which, he argued, would not only bar a real material progress, but would finally tend to oust a belief in the invisible. "We are giants," he says, "in physical power, in a deeper than metaphorical sense, we are Titans, that strive by heaping mountain on mountain to conquer Heaven also."

Carlyle was writing here in the familiar rôle of a prophet, pointing to probable rather than to ascertained results; but with all his prophetic qualities he would hardly have foreseen the

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\* A Paper read at a meeting of the Academia on November 23, 1886.

† "The Signs of the Times," published in 1829.



immense development in our own day of the tendency to which he points. Mechanism has grown into Fatalism, a Fatalism so universally productive of mental torpor, that when, for instance, the Duke of Argyll denounces the present "Reign of Flabbiness," or Mr. Goschen pleads for the recovery of the almost lost art of original independent thinking, they meet in the main with little encouragement except the pity extended to the misplaced energies of eccentric genius. To find a person, when the question is a political one, with clear personal convictions, based on something more rational than universal hearsay, or "the tide of public opinion," has almost become an event of importance. Some public man, of sufficient standing to secure a column in the daily paper, lights on a plausible phrase or two, scatters them in his next speech like plums in a pudding; the leader next morning pets him with unthinking praise, the local association or league, parrot-like, adopts the cry, and then the thing is done. Those whom Mr. John Morley describes as "the great army of the indolent good, the people who lead excellent lives and never use their reason,"\* follow suit, and exert themselves only in denouncing men who hold back and claim a little time to think, as laggards or mutineers or secessionists. If one of the supposed laggards shows a *prima facie* reasonableness in his demand for breathing space, it is urged that after all it is useless to oppose what in the end is inevitable, as though the very best way to make a thing inevitable were not to join in the chorus of declaration that so it is. Let me not be understood, however, as referring in these remarks to any one political party. This loss of grit and fibre, this tendency to drift, to bend to what is supposed to be irresistible, is, as I hope to show, a common feature in the formation of political opinion of every shade and leaning.

As one of the symptoms of the disease to which I wish to direct attention, let me dwell on the fact, perhaps sufficiently obvious, that Parliament has largely ceased to be a deliberative body. Not that there is any lack of oratory, not that speeches are shorter, or members more content than of yore to give a silent vote; the new process of winnowing measures through Grand Committees, the threatened proposals as to *clôture* by bare majority, tell quite another tale. What I mean is the admitted dislike in the House to appeals to principle or anything savouring of what is unhappily called dry reasoning. Were Burke living now, it is probable that even for enlightened legislators in a Reformed Parliament his rising would be as sure a signal for dispersion as in the days when the Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies failed to prevent even a Sheridan from slinking out of the House behind the back benches. And

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\* "Burke" ("English Men of Letters"), p. 153.

so, if Mr. Leonard Courtney wishes to unburden his soul he flies to the remote parts of Cornwall; and, sad to say, his high speculations only make him appear in the eyes of many an abnormal specimen of the legislator. Not long ago Mr. Goschen, in an address at the Eighty Club, endeavoured to probe out and formulate the principles of the legislation of the last decade, whereupon critics in the press said Mr. Goschen was a theorist, a term, strange to say, meant to imply condemnation and importing unfitness for the task of government. There are, it is true, congresses and conferences without number on the many heterogeneous subjects that come under what is called "Social Science;" but confining our view to political questions, there is little doubt that public meetings of the usual kind are to a very slight degree deliberative; they are in the main not gatherings of persons desirous of hearing the *pros* and *cons.*, and of inquiring what is right and just, but are composed of individuals whose minds are made up on the subject at issue, and who are merely anxious to swell the chorus of approval or disapproval. The primary object of assemblages of this character is not to create or test opinions, but to ratify and publish them with some parade and solemnity. In Parliament, as out of it, it has almost become a maxim that speeches do not gain votes, or alter judgments; and it is no paradox to say that the success of an orator is measured rather by the power of flattering the prepossessions of his friends than by his success in shaking the convictions of his opponents.

The new doctrine of Fatalism, let me say at once, does not at all imply that men think and act without motives of any kind. Beliefs that are arrived at under the new canon have their own sanction, but that sanction is no longer the internal sense of reasonableness or justice, but the pressure of a tendency which is given a name, and then somehow invested with an external existence. Individual judgment is surrendered to what is styled the course of "Public Opinion," not because it is considered that error is more likely to be winnowed out and the truth to come to light when the majority agree (which would be quite reasonable); but because "the force of circumstances," or "the spirit of the age," or as learned persons say the "*Zeitgeist*," is conceived as a force with life and momentum, carrying the helpless age onwards in its steady, irresistible march. To attempt to stop its course by audaciously asserting what right reason commends, would be as useless (if we are interpreting a common fallacy rightly) as to endeavour to stop a steam engine in motion by patting it on the boiler. The common sense of most does indeed keep a fretful realm in awe in a manner the poet perhaps never conceived. As Carlyle says in the essay already referred to, "By arguing on the

force of circumstances we have argued away all force from ourselves, and stand leashed together, uniform in dress and movement, like the slaves of some boundless galley. . . . Practically considered our creed is fatalism, and, free in hand and foot, we are shackled in heart and soul in far worse than Feudal chains."

Nor is it merely that this Necessitarian mood corrupts the every-day judgment of ordinary folk who claim no intellectual supereminence; the poison has spread much further, and stains the deliberate pronouncements of men who rank, and justly rank, amongst our teachers and leaders. Mr. Russell Lowell, for instance, has the name of being an independent thinker, if ever there was one, yet he too has not escaped infection, but has deliberately adopted what I may call the inclined-plane theory. For instance in his address (otherwise admirably conceived in aim and tone) to the Midland Institute \* on the extension of the political power of the masses, these are his words:—

"What we used to call the tendency or drift, what we are being taught more wisely to call the evolution of things, has for some time being setting in this direction. . . . There is no use arguing with the inevitable. The only argument available with an east wind is to put on your overcoat. And in this case, also, the prudent will prepare themselves to encounter what they cannot prevent. Some people advise us to put on the brakes, as if the movement of which we are conscious were that of a railway train running down an incline. But a metaphor is no argument, though it be sometimes the gunpowder to drive it home and imbed it in the memory."

And again:—

"The question for us, as it has been for all before us, is to make the transition gradual and easy; to see that our points are right, so that the train may not come to grief."†

A metaphor is indeed no argument, to requote Mr. Lowell's own words, but unhappily it is often an intellectual *ignis fatuus* for the most wary. Mr Lowell himself, usually the most lucid of thinkers, has in his own neatly chiselled phrases given us an example of the fallacy against which he would warn us. Why speak as he does of "evolution," "setting in this direction," of the "inevitable," and of looking to our "points." Fatalism is fatalism, though it is rechristened with the scientific name of "evolution."‡

\* On "Democracy:" see *Times*, Oct. 7, 1884.

† Mr. Lowell has recently spoken in a vein more worthy of himself at the tercentenary of Harvard College. "Democracy," he says, "must show its capacity for producing, not a higher average man, but the highest possible type of manhood in all its manifold varieties, or it is a failure."

‡ Dr. Whewell makes some pertinent observations on the danger of loosely applying scientific terms when their strict meaning is forgotten:—"The language of science, when thus resembling common language, is liable to be employed with an absence of scientific precision, which alone

Democracy is irresistible and inevitable only because a number of apathetic people assume that it is, certainly not from any law of nature. Sir Henry Maine has recently shown that if history teaches anything it teaches the opposite doctrine, a doctrine accepted almost universally amongst political writers, and justified by facts until the constitution of the United States formed the one grand exception in giving evidence of stability.

It may be interesting to give some additional examples of the modern heresy, from the writings of those who pass for keen observers of the signs of the times, and play a prominent part in public life. Mr. Labouchere, for instance, has been extolled by Mr. Matthew Arnold for possessing the rare un-British virtue of "lucidity," so we cannot do better than quote him. This is Mr. Labouchere's pæan of triumph on the recent extension of the franchise :—

"The flood is rising, and will carry all before it. The checks and counterpoises which make property more powerful than numbers have been removed. The statesman who does not recognize that it will be vain to resist the current with old saws is lost to practical wisdom. New wine will burst old bottles. . . . All that he can hope is to direct the stream. . . . Old Mother Partingtons will find it impossible to stem the incoming ocean with their mops. The days of checks and counterpoises are over, our triumph—a triumph complete and absolute—is not far distant."\*

Even Mr. John Morley, whose faculty of gorgeous literary presentation and searching logic have done yeoman's service in exploding a very similar fallacy, has breathed the air of contagion, as the following passage bears witness :—

"Great economic and social forces flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half conscious of what is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is bringing, and endeavour to shape institutions and to mould men's thoughts and purpose in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them."†

I pass from the critic and theorist to a statesman of the shrewd, practical type, the Earl of Derby. In a speech made at Blackburn last autumn, this titled embodiment of British commonsense, touching upon a then keenly discussed question, reaches

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gives it any value. Popular writers and talkers, when they speak of *force*, *momentum*, *action*, and *reaction*, and the like, often afford examples of the inaccuracy arising from the scientific appropriation of common terms."

—*Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. i. p. 52.

\* *Fortnightly Review*, No. 226, October, 1885.

† "Life of Cobden," vol. ii. p. 484.

VOL. XVII.—NO. 1. [Third Series.]

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the following high level of exhortation: "Disestablishment, and at least partial disendowment, in my mind, must ultimately come; and if I were a parson, or one of those laymen who identify themselves especially with ecclesiastical interests and ideas, I should rather look to making the best terms possible than to resist what is inevitable."

Of the proper and legitimate sphere of compromise, which Lord Derby here curtly describes as "making terms" with the "inevitable" we hope to say a few words later on; for the present it is enough to make some little attempt in searching out and laying bare the poison. For the evil of the new way of thinking is that its characteristic fallacies are shrouded up in clouds of verbiage, or escape notice in the distracting glamour of a rhetorical setting. A logical analysis would at once show the folly of this talk about "tendencies" and "currents" and "streams;" but logic is not in fashion just now, and besides there is so little time for it.

We will place before our readers only two more specimens of political utterances, and leave him to judge of their taste and virtue. The first is an extract from the Midlothian Manifesto of Mr. Gladstone, in the autumn of 1885; "a few words," as he describes them, "to qualify oversanguine expectations," and to "mitigate alarms," which appeared to him exaggerated, though they are entertained by many whom, &c. &c.

"With respect to the severance of the Church of England from the State [he goes on], I think it obvious that so vast a question cannot become practical until it shall have grown familiar to the public mind by thorough discussion, with the further condition that the proposal, when thoroughly discussed, shall be approved. Neither, I think, can such a change arise, in a country such as ours, except with a large observance of the principles of equity and liberality, as well as with the general consent of the nation. *We can hardly, however, be surprised if those who observe that a current almost throughout the civilized world slowly sets in this direction should desire or fear that among ourselves too it may be found to operate.* I cannot forecast the dim and distant courses of the future."

Observe there is not a word of the policy or justice of a measure of Disestablishment. Not a gleam of light thrown upon the perplexities of the Disendowment question; no recommendation, no advice from the lips of one whose very entrance into public life was marked by a two-volumed deliverance on the relations of Church and State; who is known as a devoted Churchman and the first of financiers. We are asked merely to observe a current, which in unmetaphorical language simply means that a certain number of people (whether reasonably or otherwise, we are not told), join in thinking or saying that Disestablishment must or

will come about. Whether they are probably right or wrong in their statement is absolutely irrelevant to the question whether the end would in itself be desirable. The credibility of the prophecy I leave out of sight for the moment, though one would expect something to be said on this point. The view against which I desire to lodge a first protest is that a rational man, with powers of will and action left in him, should passively subject himself to the "operation" of a "current," without knowing or inquiring whether it is "slowly setting" towards a dangerous reef or a placid haven.

Mr. Chamberlain does not indulge much in metaphors, but his plain language has been often dangerously near propounding doctrines which, in the writer's humble opinion, completely misapprehend the duty of a man of light and leading under the democratic *régime*, and would be fatal, if carried out, to intellectual independence. Let us take, for instance, an extract from a speech at Inverness : \*

"I should like, however, to warn you not to rest on the opinions or good-will of any individual. The Government, and still less a single member of any Government, cannot go one inch further than the average opinion of the party and of the country. Power is now in your hands, and it is you, and not we who are responsible for future legislation."

Surely this is an unworthy view of the duty of a statesman. Leaving out of sight the effacement of Ministerial responsibility which the doctrine involves, it almost comes to this, that those whose gifts and powers make them the natural leaders of men, who are equipped with all the advantages of education, leisure and opportunity, are not to possess their own souls, but to be ready to think, speak and act, in accordance with what is reckoned the masterful and irresistible tide of "average opinion." Needless to say what is best and most useful is not to be discovered by any system of averages, or any other short rule of thumb. At any rate, it is certain the ship of state will fare badly if the men of brains and counsel are to approach political problems as an unknown sea, and allow their vessel, *nudum remigio latus*, to drift on a chance course dictated by the average opinion of the ship's company.†

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\* September 17, 1885.

† John Stuart Mill will hardly be called an enemy to democratic government, but his conception of the duty of a statesman was something very different. "The public, collectively, is abundantly ready to impose, not only its general narrow views of its interests, but its abstract opinions, and even its tastes, as laws binding on individuals, and our present civilization tends so strongly to make the power of persons acting in masses the only substantial power in society, that there never was more necessity



A slightly different complexion is given to the fatalistic mode of forming opinions according as the bent of mind is optimistic or the reverse. I include, generally, under the term optimists those who, admitting and bemoaning the evil and unhappiness of to-day, look forward with strong and assured confidence to the gradual disappearance of the bad, and the triumph of the good. In this sense, *per contra*, a pessimist may be one who takes a roseate view of the present life about him, but he looks at the future, and, above all, at a future of change, as involving necessarily a growth of evil and misery. But, however much men of these opposite classes may differ in their secret emotions, it is strange how, if once the fashionable fatalistic spirit comes upon them, they will be found, in the political sphere at least, saying and doing the same thing.

The pessimist will generally call himself a Tory, and admit upon a little questioning he is a Tory Democrat; the optimist, on the other hand, will naturally be a Radical. Tory Democracy is little else after all than the old Toryism recognising the inevitableness of the coming change, and becoming keenly alive to the advisability of Conservatives in office being the passive instruments of fate, rather than Liberals. To watch how the wind blows is the grand maxim of the new school, which allows itself to be urged on to the hazardous makeshift of dishing Whigs, not certainly from a natural love of the work, but from a sense of the helplessness of striving against what the Fates have decreed. The optimistic fatalist, on the other hand, will generally style himself a Radical, whether he still adhere to the *laissez-faire* of the older Liberalism, or cling to that belief in the efficacy of state-aid and the omnipotence of Government for good, which is the characteristic of the modern school. He will rarely discuss any political problem without the phrases "path of progress," or "march of civilization," coming to his lips; and it would be difficult to find a limit to the extent to which he believes human conditions capable of improvement. Zealots of this class may differ as to the respective merits of their contrivances and panaceas, but they will generally look back on the past with less reverence than piety, and agree that, with the unfettered sway of knowledge in these latter days, happiness and virtue are to advance with leaps and bounds:

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for surrounding individual independence of thought, speech, and conduct with the most powerful defences, in order to maintain that originality of mind, and individuality of character which are the only source of real progress, and of most of the qualities which make the human race much superior to any herd of animals."—*Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 508, and cf. vol. i. p. 248.



Forward, forward, let us range!

Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.  
Through the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day,  
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

The School of History, of which Buckle and Macaulay were the most eminent exponents, is largely tinged with fatalism of this type. Buckle especially rejoices in the death of the "protective spirit" which held minds in durance in the ancient days, "the State teaching men what they are to do, the Church teaching them what they are to believe." With the removal of this incubus of superstition, civilization advances with sure and unfaltering strides; and so, he argues, the darkness of the middle ages is as impossible to recur as the twelfth century, for the causes of that darkness have been removed. The business of the historian in Buckle's view is to show that "the movements of nations are perfectly regular, and that, like all other movements, they are solely determined by their antecedents." The historian must be "imbued with the spirit of science, which teaches as an article of faith the doctrine of uniform sequence; in other words the doctrine that, certain events having already happened, certain other events corresponding to them will also happen."\*

What occurred at a recent political crisis illustrates to some extent the influence of a supposed overruling destiny on the minds of practical politicians.

There were few Tories who in 1885 approved of the extension of the borough franchise to the counties on the bare merits of the proposal. But the great majority had little doubt in their hearts that what was called the natural expansion of the Act of 1867 was fated to come about in the near future. And so the sword was sheathed, and the opposition to the measure, vigorous at first, became half-hearted, and in the end was sullenly withdrawn (with an extenuating plea), from a feeling that, to use Mr. Lowell's phrase, there is no use arguing with the inevitable. This was the opiate that served to quiet the stormy sadness of the righteous Tory soul.

To take another question, perhaps it is no paradox to say that one of the main reasons why the subject of the disestablishment of the English Church is not now pushed to the front with any great prominence, and its advocates are apparently less vigorous and uncompromising than in the pristine days of Miall, is due to a prevailing belief, shadowy, yet unequivocal in its main features, that a great upheaval is somehow imminent in the near future, and that the finger of fate points unerringly to the downfall of the Establishment.

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\* "History of Civilization," vol. ii. p. 325.

Many other instances of the formation of opinion by the process of drifting and substituting a supposed tendency for the old standard of the wise and the just present themselves in recent political events. However wise may be the laws which the Legislature has passed in recent years (and with this I have nothing to do), the methods by which its assent has been attained have not always been so admirable. Whatever view may be taken, for instance, of recent legislation on the tenure of Irish land, on the subject of the Scottish crofters, or on the *status* and powers of married women, it is unquestionable that on these points views have been developed and positions reached by processes far other than dry argumentation. Debate and discussion in and out of the House show over and over again, how, when abstract reasoning had failed, the scale would be turned in favour of a particular clause by an appeal to the tide of opinion, the force of circumstances, or the tendency of the hour. In this sort of way the Irish Land Act of 1881 was treated as a mere natural development of the Act of 1870, and the doctrine of the Three F's discovered to be a necessary growth from the germs of the legislation of the previous decade, as though the very essence of a principle were not in such a case the limits of its application. And so in the end the error may assume a more subtle and misleading form, when a measure to which assent has been given, from considerations of this kind, is at a later period treated as solemnly approved of from its own innate justice, and so becomes a new starting-point for fresh developments.

The fatalism which thus operates in forming and shaping opinion is quite distinct from that sense of purpose and order governing the apparent chaos of the world, the belief in a reign of inflexible law, which in one shape or other has been found in the great races of mankind, a temper of mind common to the stubborn Roman soldiery, the fanatical hordes of Mahomet, and the evangelical Cromwellian trooper. But this was a fatalism that spent its force in the sphere of action, and had little share in moulding or guiding mental assents. The Greek did not allow his belief in *ἀνάγκη* to interfere with a logical conclusion. Such a Necessitarian creed has been found consistent with self-reliance, originality of thought, and obstinacy of belief in the highest degree. Indeed, for examples of this we need not go back to classic days, when in our own age we have witnessed the career of a Napoleon and a Gordon.

It may be that modern speculations indefinitely extending the reign of law, hypotheses purporting to include in their wide embrace all things knowable and unknowable, and bringing into prominence a purely mechanical theory of the universe, have exercised an influence beyond their proper sphere. Politicians

endeavour to give a scientific tinge to their utterances by misusing a scientific nomenclature. The application of such terms as "evolution" and "development" to political problems perhaps accounts to some extent for the supremacy of the Necessitarian jargon which now passes from lip to lip with easy iteration. One realizes, in the face of these facts, what it was made Carlyle so fierce in his crusade against all forms of *cant*. "Ach Gott!" we may say with him, "it is frightful to live amongst echoes."

There can be little doubt that the modern system of democratic government has done much to make what is called "average opinion" appear omnipotent and irresistible, and to reduce the art of politics to discovering and registering what the decrees of the majority may be. The will of the majority is the law; its expressed opinions are carried into practice with rigid and swift precision, and there is a strong tendency to invest with a concrete existence that which is so universally potent. It is forgotten that "Majority" is a name and nothing more, though spelt with a big "m;" that every minority is a majority *in posse*; that, strictly speaking, the phrase, "average opinion," "public opinion" import a contradiction in terms. Thought, judgment, assent, are operations proper to individual minds; and there does not exist anywhere such a thing as "public opinion" any more than men can have a common soul. The opinions *quâ* opinions of a number of men are worth very little more, except under certain special conditions, than the separate opinions of anyone forming the mass. Government by a majority is, after all, based on far other considerations than that the concurrence of many minds necessarily strengthens a conclusion.\* It would be puerile to insist on the truth, were it not so often forgotten in practice, that the value of an opinion is to be measured only by the grounds on which it is adopted, and not by the number of people who hold it. Chances of error are not eliminated by multiplying instances, unless in such cases as when there is a common avouchment that a certain truth is primary and intuitive, or when witnesses to a fact agree, or when there is independent investigation.

It is perhaps not too much to be wondered at that under the existing conditions of majority rule its proper function of carrying opinions into practice should be exceeded; that in many cases it should suppress individual reasoning, and induce a blind acquiescence from a sense of the hopelessness and

\* For a clear and full investigation of the limits of the application of the rule of the majority, see Sir George Cornewall Lewis's "Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion," chapters vi. and vii.

inutility of holding opposite views. The decrees of the majority are only to be ascertained by periodical counting of millions of indistinguishable voting papers; the issues at stake are often mixed up in hopeless confusion, the why and wherefore, the hidden motives for decision are never to be revealed, and the onlooker only hears the shouting and sees the machinery of the ballot-box. However unreasonable, it is not so much to be wondered at, human nature being what it is, that a mystical existence is given to the author of these imperious decrees, and that many bow down before them with helpless awe as the behests of an irresistible destiny.

Many other reasons suggest themselves why undue regard is paid at the present day to the belief of others, especially when they form a majority. The field of knowledge is enormously extended, life is more complex, the legislature every year has imposed upon it new duties, whilst in the last resort government is in the hands of those who have least leisure for independent thinking. There is besides that natural dislike to remain in a state of doubt, not likely to be less common in an age when success in life depends so much on the power of "making up one's mind," and thus a wholesome prudence in suspending belief is apt by practical men to be treated as a mental failing. Then there is that dread of singularity so well expressed by the Greek *aídos*, that "sense of reverence and shame" for collective opinion which, as Professor Jebb has pointed out, is so abundantly illustrated as early as the Homeric Poems.\*

Added to these causes the dislike of labour and a misplaced self-distrust combine to render what is called public opinion little more than mere assertion, the unthinking repetition of the sayings of the market place—that which Cardinal Newman places in the lowest rank of notional assents.† Even when the influence of conventionalism does not result in the positive adoption of current formulas, but produces only a mental lethargy preventing or checking speech or action, much harm is done; for nowadays opinions unexpressed by voice or vote are as worthless as blank cartridge in the battlefield. Perhaps they ought rather to be compared to damp ammunition, for they are even unequal

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\* See *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxxvi. N.S. 570, "Ancient Organs of Public Opinion." Professor Jebb gives a number of curious instances of the influence of "average opinion" over Homeric heroes. The Greek indefinite pronoun "*tis*" represents the public feeling. "*Tis*" is the spokesman of popular sentiment, that at critical periods supplies the governing motive. Professor Jebb, I may add, has discovered from some vigorous Tory sentiments of a passage in the *Odyssey* that "*tis*" is the earliest authentic example of the Conservative working man!

† See "Grammar of Assent," pp. 43, 54, and 59, *et passim*.

to the poor service of making a noise and frightening the enemy.

One great mischief resulting from an undue conformity to average common sense is that many of the qualifications and limitations which almost all political problems present disappear in the process of reducing them to the simplicity necessary for an electorate including every grade of intelligence. But the result of thus sifting away the complexities of a question often is to eliminate the only points that merit discussion. The contest is now not so much about main principles as about the limits and methods of their application, and what is to be done when they cross or seem to cross each other. It is here that the loose oratory of the platform and the metaphors and similes that are now made to do duty for principles completely fail. As an instance of this take the way in which the question of minority representation was recently treated. It is unnecessary to speculate whether any of the proposals made were at once intelligible and effective; at least it is certain there was a clear case for full investigation, and that the question should not have been kicked out of the field of discussion in so summary a manner. But to observe how the present system of voting worked injustice needed something of a patient and involved examination of details and figures, and the champions of popular rights won an easy victory by uttering crude generalizations concerning the law of the majority, and attempts to check the people's will, as if the whole object of the inquiry were not precisely to ascertain that will.

Another baneful result of allowing high considerations of truth and justice to be blurred or effaced by the hard maxims of a Necessitarian creed, is that spirit of compromise, compromise of an illegitimate kind, which now so generally passes for the essence of political wisdom. Mr. John Morley has well shown\* how this spurious doctrine of conformity, the modern *disciplina arcana*, grows out of that particular mental mood which is the special object of his attack, that habit of "putting social convenience in the first place, and respect for truth in the second," that "shrinking deference to the *status quo*, not merely as having a claim not to be lightly dealt with . . . but as being the last word, and final test of truth and justice." Compromise of this illegitimate kind, with the attendant evils so pithily and graphically described by Mr. John Morley, is not less the sure result of being possessed with the idea that "it is no use arguing with the inevitable." Lord Derby has frankly told us not to resist fate, but "to make the best possible terms with it;" excellent advice if destiny

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\* "On Compromise:" see chapters i., iii., and v. especially.

showed an accommodating spirit, and were not a phantom creation of the brain. Of course there may be overwhelming reasons why, with the very object of ultimately attaining the best and wisest end, the sentiments of the majority should be respected, and allowance made for the deep-rooted force of habit or prejudice, why in deference to received notions we should for a time give up all attempts to realize our opinions, or even abstain from expressing them. We may in this way give up a part to acquire a part, but not with an idea of abandoning the rest, nor otherwise than as making a step in advance towards our ultimate aim. That is one thing, it is quite another to allow a spirit of cowardice or shuddering conformity to keep our real opinions lodged silent within our hearts, or worse still, make our heart or voice give a flaccid assent to what we believe to be politically unjust or dishonourable.

Mr. John Morley has some apt words, scouting the notion that, because a subject is not ripe for a practical treatment (within the sphere of practical politics, let us say), "you and I are therefore entirely relieved from the duty of having clear ideas about it. . . . Take the political field: politicians and newspapers almost systematically refuse to talk about a new idea which is not capable of being at once embodied in a Bill, and receiving the royal assent before the following August. *There is something rather contemptible, seen from the ordinary standard of intellectual integrity, in the position of a Minister who waits to make up his mind whether a given measure, say the disestablishment of the Irish Church, is in itself, and on the merits, desirable, until the official who runs diligently up and down the backstairs of the party tells him that the measure is practicable and required in the interests of the land.* . . . The education of chiefs by followers, of followers by chiefs, into the abandonment in a month of the traditions of centuries, or the principles of a lifetime, may conduce to the rapid and easy working of the machine. It certainly marks a triumph of the political spirit which the author of "The Prince" might have admired. It is assuredly mortal to the habits of intellectual self-respect in the society which allows itself to be amused by the cajolery and legerdemain and self-sophistication of its rulers."\*

It is instructive to compare Mr. Morley's fully considered views with those of Mr. Gladstone on the same question of political morality. Mr. Gladstone is meeting the argument advanced by Lord Hartington and others, that he had either

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\* "On Compromise," pp. 95, 97, 98. It is noticeable that this passage, written in 1874, remains unaltered in the new edition of 1886.



conceived the intention of Home Rule precipitately, or had concealed it unduly. This is the answer:—"In the first place, I deny that it is the duty of every Minister to make known even to his colleagues every idea which has formed itself in his mind. I should even say that the contradictory proposition would not be absurd. . . . But letting pass, for argument sake, a very irrational proposition, I grapple with the dilemma, and say *non sequitur*; the consequence asserted is no consequence at all. *It was no consequence from my not having condemned Home Rule that I had either not considered it or had adopted it. What is true is, that I had not publicly and in principle condemned it, and also that I had mentally considered it. But I had neither adopted nor rejected it, and for the very simple reason that it was not ripe either for adoption or rejection.*"\*

We have italicized the parts of the two quotations which show most strikingly the fundamental disagreement between the chief and his lieutenant, concerning the duty of a democratic leader.

The fact is, and recent events in particular abundantly prove it, that public opinion has not at all that force and strength attributed to it by the current delusion of a political necessity. History shows how the most deeply seated popular prejudices have been successfully conquered by the wholesome fearless expression of independent opinion by the courage of those whom Matthew Arnold aptly calls the "Remnant." Man is still master of his fate, and the phantom enemy's armour when tested will be found to be only of the pasteboard kind. What individual courage and persistency can do in combating the convictions of a biassed majority can be seen in the successful crusade (by many deemed hopeless) in the first Midlothian campaign, and (to join great things with small) the victory of Mr. Bradlaugh on the oath question. Never was a time, perhaps, when earnestness and enthusiasm were more potent with the masses, and the acts and words of those who determinedly face unpopularity in defence of their own cherished beliefs meet with a more generous appreciation. But, for the most part, public men prefer swimming with the tide to stemming it, bending the knee to an idol in great part of their own manufacture. The error is contagious; the claptrap about necessity and "force of circumstances" passes from lip to lip and becomes the political stock-in-trade of a whole generation, and so we have the spectacle of majorities drifting with the tendency and the tide of a destiny which is nothing more than a name for the combined flabbiness and lethargy of individual minds.

N. J. SYNNOTT.

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\* "History of an Idea," p. 5.



## ART. VIII.—THE STORY OF THE FRENCH EXILES.

*Le Clergé français réfugié en Angleterre.* Par F. X. PLASSE, Chanoine Titulaire de Clermont. Two vols. Paris: Victor Palmé. 1886.

A GREAT gap in both English and French history has been happily filled by the publication of these volumes by Canon Plasse. In 1802, the Abbé de Lubersac, Vicar General of Narbonne, printed in London, and dedicated to George III. his "*Journal historique et religieux de l'Emigration et Déportation du Clergé de France en Angleterre*," a book by which its author "wished to make known to all nations, and to the remotest posterity, the magnanimity of England's king and the generosity of his subjects." But his narrative, though conceived in a noble spirit of gratitude, was inadequate for its purpose. It consists of mere episodes, and they are related without proportion. It is also a royalist pamphlet, and a protest against the Concordat of 1801, between Pius VII. and Napoleon, rather than a history. We shall, however, make use of it in this article for some details passed over by Canon Plasse.

It is perhaps right that the bounty of England to the French should be recorded by the nation that received, rather than by that which conferred the benefits; yet it is strange that a matter of such magnitude as the free gift, to the exiles of a nation with which England was at war, of more than two million pounds sterling, should neither have found a special historian in England, nor anything beyond the merest incidental mention in English histories. In many respects this gift is more glorious to us as a nation than the twenty millions voted for negro emancipation. Yet Alison has no space for it in his lengthy record of the affairs of Europe; Knight's enormous folios on the reign of George III. contain not more than a dozen lines on the subject; and the late Mr. Greene, in his larger History, while illustrating what he calls "the new humanity" by Howard's prison reforms, the trial of Warren Hastings, and the abolition of slavery, has not a word on the hospitality of Protestant England to the Catholic clergy of France.

Stranger still has been the apathy of Catholic writers with regard to an event of such interest and importance, from a religious point of view, as the residence in England, for many years together, of many thousand Catholic priests. Charles Butler, indeed, in his additions to the Historical Memoirs of English Catholics, published in 1821, gives five pages to the recep-

tion in England of the French Persecuted Clergy,\* but he enters into no details as to the numbers, residence, or occupation of the exiles. Those who have followed him have added nothing to our information, as may be seen by a quotation from Canon Flanagan's *History of the Church in England*:—

The tide of the exiled clergy [he writes] was far beyond all the need of the missions: it soon amounted to no fewer than eight thousand. It was accompanied by a vast number of the French nobility, and nearly all, both nobles and clergy, were cast penniless upon the shores of England. Seldom or never has England presented so noble a spectacle as upon that occasion. It rose superior to its old prejudices and received them all with open arms; one thousand of them found a shelter in the King's house of Winchester, and the voluntary subscriptions that poured in being still insufficient, a large sum was annually voted for many years.†

In this short paragraph the whole subject is despatched. Could anything be more vague or unsatisfactory? How was the immigration caused? When did it begin, and when did it end? How much money was subscribed, how much voted by Parliament? How was it distributed? What is to be understood by "many years"? What was the occupation of the French clergy during their exile, what their conduct? What have been the results on the nation, or on the Catholic Church in England, of the presence of these thousands of confessors of the Catholic faith? Canon Flanagan answers none of these questions. His point of view was apparently the "need of the missions," and the supply being beyond the demand. So thoroughly, or so narrowly, does he keep to his immediate subject, that, though he quotes the generous words in which Abbé Barruel testifies to the favourable impression made on the French clergy by the English Catholics, he has forgotten to speak of the impression made on English Catholics and Protestants by the magnificent spectacle of ten thousand priests sacrificing their all for conscience sake. This omission is all the more to be regretted in that he gives two pages to a history of the Blanchard Schism, the one unfortunate blot on the glorious record of the French Church in England.

More unaccountable still is the silence of Provost Husenbeth in his *Life of Bishop Milner*. When Milner was pastor of St. Peter's, Winchester, more than seven hundred French priests lived in community for four years at the King's house in that city, and many more in private lodgings. Milner was intimately concerned in these arrangements, as Canon Plasse shows. Yet

\* Vol. iv. chap. 78, § 5. Four of the nine pages of this section relate the sufferings of the English nuns.

† Vol. ii. p. 412.

the only reference to the matter by his biographer is that Milner translated a letter by a French bishop, and allowed the French clergy to celebrate in his church a solemn requiem at the death of Louis XVI., at which the English pastor preached; yet Milner's later action, as bishop, against the French schism, or Blanchardists, is related in detail. The reasons for Dr. Husenbeth's ill-proportioned treatment of Milner's relations with the French clergy are, doubtless, that he was a witness of the bishop's zeal against the poor and misguided remnant of the exiles, while of the earlier and heroic days he knew little. Still, the documents used by Canon Plasse were accessible in 1862, when Husenbeth wrote, and belonged to his subject.

We have made these remarks, not in disparagement of excellent books, but to show that Canon Plasse breaks new ground. He has written an important chapter in English as well as in French history, and his volumes should be read with equal interest and glow of pride by French and English, by Protestants and Catholics. In a visit to England in 1864 the subject first presented itself to his mind. He set himself to learn English, made seven subsequent journeys across the Channel, and visited most of the places in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where his exiled brethren had resided, worked hard in the MS. collections of the Record Office and British Museum, and in the archives of the old Catholic churches, took personally many photographs of places and old prints, and with the materials gathered by all these labours has constructed a narrative full of interest and edification.\* Naturally he has written from a French point of view. There are descriptions in his book that are superfluous for English readers; and he has given a space to the investigation of the names and dioceses of exiles, which in an English adaptation of his book we should gladly see devoted to some biographical details regarding their English hosts and friends. We regretted also to find so little use made of contemporary English literature, or of English biographies bearing on those times; but after having ourselves sought to complete our knowledge by a pretty long search through recent historians, and the memoirs of such men as Pitt, Percival, Canning, Wilberforce, we confess to have found little to repay our toil, except in the Parliamentary debates. In the brief sketch we now attempt we must be understood to refer to Canon Plasse for the proofs of what we state, unless when we indicate other sources.†

\* Eighteen full-page engravings add much to the value of these volumes.

† These volumes have the ordinary French defect of being without index. We have sometimes arrived at our conclusions by supplementing one statement or document by another. Canon Plasse is abundant, and no doubt accurate in his references, but he has not always given us the summaries or totals we should desire.

The causes and progress of the French Revolution are too well known to need repeating here. The exile of the French clergy, to which we restrict ourselves, was not, like that of most of the laity, a spontaneous, or a merely political movement. In July, 1790, the Civil Constitution of the clergy had been voted, which threw all who accepted it into open schism with the Holy See. An oath to observe it was required from all who held office or benefice, and in November deprivation and other penalties were voted against the non-jurists. In the assembly, out of 290 ecclesiastics, only 96 swore, and 25 of these almost immediately retracted. In Paris, out of 800, 600 refused the oath; in the provinces 50,000 out of 60,000. On January 21st, 1791, the king, Louis XVI. weakly signed the bill of ejection against the clergy who refused the oath. On the same day, two years later, he was beheaded, but not before he had bitterly regretted his weakness. It is interesting to learn from an English source, that when Abbé Edgeworth told the king, just before his death, that the exiled clergy were being received and sheltered in England, the king exclaimed with emotion: "Ah! la généreuse nation, la généreuse nation."\* As the revolution proceeded the enemies of religion were not satisfied with depriving the Catholic clergy of their benefices, or forbidding them to minister to their former flocks. By a law of August 26, 1792, all non-jurant ecclesiastics were to quit the country in a fortnight, under pain of transportation to French Guiana. Three francs a day were to be given them for the expenses of a daily journey of thirty miles to the frontier. If they returned they would be awarded ten years' imprisonment. The sick, and those over sixty years old, were exempted from banishment, but had to assemble in a place assigned to them in each department. The exiles had passports, yet multitudes were massacred *en route* at Rheims, Meaux, Lyons, Versailles, Caen, and other places, and those who escaped were pillaged and stripped, and arrived in exile, for the most part in absolute penury. Naturally those in the northern parts of France fled to the nearest place of safety, the Channel Islands—French in language, though English in nationality and religion—and the southern shores of England.

Let it be remembered that this expulsion of 50,000 priests was endured by them voluntarily, in the sense that it could have been avoided by taking an illicit oath, and let us judge by it such passages as the following of Carlyle. Describing the first beginnings of the French Revolution, he says: "Our Church stands haltered, dumb, like a dumb ox, lowing only for

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\* Journal of Miss Porter in 1796, quoted in the Journal of Mary Frampton, published in 1885, p. 89.

provender (of tithes) ; content if it can have that, or with dumb stupor expecting its farther doom." \* Had he said, "as a sheep dumb before its shearer," he would have been a truer historian. But, to his disgrace, Carlyle, in all his graphic pictures of the French Revolution, has not a word of admiration or sympathy for the exiled priests, nor does he do more than just allude to the decree of their expulsion. In one place only he mentions "dissident ejected priests, unconquerable martyrs according to some, incurable chicaning traitors according to others," † and does not add a word or a fact to manifest his own or to form his reader's judgment as to which epithet was deserved. It is to the honour of England that from the beginning no doubt on this point was entertained. The exiles were welcomed, if not as martyrs, or confessors, yet as noble sufferers for conscience. Some words spoken by an Anglican minister to the very first exiles expressed the sentiment of this nation. "Certain French priests," wrote an eyewitness, "just landed, went out of curiosity into a Protestant Church during the evening service. The clergyman was preaching, but seeing the strange priests enter he interrupted his sermon, and addressed them in French : "Gentlemen, I admire the firmness and courage you have shown in the persecution of which you are the victims, and the dangers to which you have been exposed. May God reward you, and grant you all prosperity in future." He then bowed low to them and continued his sermon in English ‡

The total number of priests who took refuge in England was about 10,000, but these did not all arrive at once, or leave at the same period, and owing to poverty and want the mortality was fearful. According to Abbé de Lubersac, between the years 1792 and 1802 about 1250 French priests died in Great Britain and the Channel Islands.§ Various causes increased or diminished the numbers in the country. When the banishment was decreed, many who did not leave France at first, but hid themselves, and ministered secretly to their people, were afterwards obliged to fly. Others, after expatriation, returned. The persecution in France raged with more or less violence according to the predominance of political parties, or the good or ill success of the wars, and fears of invasion. Some of the exiled left England for foreign missions, others after a time sought countries

\* Carlyle's "French Revolution," part i. book ii. ch. 3.

† Part ii. book iii. ch. 4.

‡ "Memoirs of Canon Baston," of Rouen, written in 1793, and quoted by Canon Plasse, i. 152.

§ Journal, p. 14. Between two and three hundred subsequently, up to 1817. Plasse, ii. 285. Six bishops died here before the Concordat, and after it nine, who refused to return to France.—*Ibid.* ii. 238.

where the religion and language were more congenial. On the other hand, some who had turned their steps at first to Catholic countries, and found but little welcome, were drawn to England by the report of the hospitality accorded to their countrymen. And when French armies invaded Belgium, Holland, Switzerland or Italy in 1794-5 many French refugees fled for safety to England. Perhaps there is no means of ascertaining the exact number at any one period, since, though lists have been preserved of such as received relief, many more were residing here at their own cost. In September 1792, before the period fixed for expatriation had elapsed, it was calculated that there were 1000 priests in Jersey, and 1,500 in England. In October the Channel Islands were overflowing with as many as 2,500 priests, and 2,150 more in England. The number went on rapidly increasing, and in 1795 there were 8,000 on the lists of relief. Then many returned to France, and the numbers in England fluctuated. At the beginning of 1800 there were 5,621 receiving help, besides many more maintaining themselves. With the Concordat came the general return. At the end of 1801 the number helped was 3,060, at the end of 1802 only 876 remained in England. Government grants continued to be made till 1817, but it was merely to a remnant of political or religious irreconcilables. The great immigration lasted about ten years, and the average number of priests at any one time in Great Britain was about 6,000.

How, then, was this influx of "popish priests," of a rival and hated nation, received by Protestant England? Canon Plasse testifies that, though there were not wanting some brutalities or excesses on the part of the lower orders, and some expressions of bigotry on the part of a few obscure writers, yet the nation as a whole, both by word and act, extended to them a cordial welcome. Burke had nobly defended the character of the higher French clergy in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, published in November, 1790, and in a great speech in Parliament on the 6th of May, 1791, he had pointed to the shores of England as a refuge against the oppression which he saw menacing all that was faithful to religion and honour in France. But it was not only the party influenced by Burke, or the followers of Pitt, who gave welcome or sympathy to the persecuted priests. Not one voice was raised in Parliament against their arrival, and when later on it was found necessary to grant a large subsidy for their support, the money was voted year after year without a murmur or a dissentient voice.

On the 15th of September, 1792, Sir Samuel Romilly wrote: "It is impossible to walk a hundred yards in any public street here (*i.e.*, in London) without meeting two or three French priests. Who would have conceived that, at the close of the



eighteenth century, we should see in the most civilized country in Europe (*i.e.*, France) all the horrors of political proscription and religious persecution united?" And in another place: "How France came to act thus, and whether it was not to be expected from such 'civilization' we do not inquire; but it was surely as great a phenomenon that priests should be thus walking unmolested in London twelve years after the Gordon riots."

In December, 1792, an Alien Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, and subsequently passed both Houses. Its object was not to exclude foreigners or refugees, but to detect revolutionists. Foreigners flocking to England were of three classes; first, the priests banished from their country; secondly, those of the old régime who had left France of their own accord (*les émigrés*); and thirdly, those who were coming to do mischief and propagate the new notions. The Bill proposed that a description should be taken of all foreigners, that they should be furnished with passports to the places to which they wished to go, that suspected aliens should be sent out of the country by an order of the Secretary of State, and that aliens in general could be obliged by proclamation of the King to reside in certain districts. In the debates on this Bill all the speakers, both for the Government and the Opposition, spoke with the greatest respect of the unfortunate priests. The Marquis of Lansdowne opposed the Bill, but in doing so he declared he was influenced by no one motive that was personal to himself:

He must, however, acknowledge that himself and his family, in common with all Englishmen of any distinction, had experienced at the hands of many of these unfortunate people, the greatest kindness, attention and hospitality: to the French clergy in particular they were greatly indebted on this head, for it was well known by all foreigners that in France it was chiefly the clergy who did the honours of the nation. These worthy and hospitable men, driven from their homes and from their property, had claims upon the generosity of Englishmen, which had been most handsomely admitted, and which, he trusted, would continue to be admitted, until such time as France should become more just to a most deserving body of subjects, or until England should have furnished them with the means of forming settlements in Canada, and of there providing for their future support.

Lord Grenville, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied that he would not ask the leave of France for England to bestow upon these unfortunate men whatever, in their liberality, Englishmen should be disposed to give them.\* The sympathy extended to the emigrants was one of the charges made against England by France in her declaration of war in January, 1793, and Lord

\* Hansard's "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. pp. 151, 154.



Grenville said, "he was so far from denying the fact, that he considered it the highest glory to his countrymen, who had felt for the wants of the distressed, and had expressed their sympathy by noble and generous benefactions." \*

We must refer to Canon Plasse for the details of these benefactions. We can give the merest outline. The movement of relief was begun by a French bishop, one of the earliest of the *immigrés*. Monseigneur Jean-François de la Marche, Count as well as Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, in Brittany, was from the beginning to the end of the persecution, the visible Providence of the French refugees, both lay and cleric, and the life and soul of all the committees for their relief. We regret that our space does not allow us to speak of his adventures, his labours, and his virtues.† He is called by Canon Plasse "*Le Précurseur*." He had been obliged to fly from France, and had landed penniless in England on February 28, 1791. But he had been hospitably received at Lulworth Castle, and had made the acquaintance of many English Catholics, as well as of Edmund Burke and of several of his friends. He gave himself at once to the work of befriending his fellow-victims, and through him the charities of English Catholics and others were distributed during the year and a half that elapsed between his landing and the great influx of priests which began in September, 1792, after the King's deposition, the decree of banishment, and the massacres of Paris. Early in September committees of English gentlemen were formed in Jersey, Dover, Lewes, Bristol, Canterbury, Winchester, and London, to receive the wretched priests, protect them from outrage or imposture, house and clothe or forward them inland. It is to the honour of the Anglican clergy that in this work, as well as in subsequent efforts at relief, they took an active and persevering part. The name of the Rev. Mr. Sneyd, rector of Jevington, near Eastbourne, deserves special remembrance. It was soon seen that an appeal must be made to the nation. More than one committee was formed in London, and Edmund Burke drew up the address of that meeting, which ultimately absorbed the other committees, and became the agent of the Government in the dispensation of its succours. Naturally, however, until private efforts were exhausted or proved insufficient, the Government did not interfere, except in one important particular—the granting of houses or places of refuge. The Government also entertained a plan of forwarding the refugees to Canada, and endowing them with lands, and for this purpose sent com-

\* Hansard's "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. p. 470.

† We are glad to refer to an article in *Merry England* for December 1886, for an interesting notice of this excellent man.

missioners to the colony; but the scheme proved impracticable, and was abandoned.

The names of the relief committee are interesting, and would repay an investigation that Canon Plasse has not given to them. We were agreeably surprised to find among them some of the leaders of the Evangelical or "Clapham sect," as they were then called, as Henry Thornton, M.P. for Southwark, and William Wilberforce, M.P. for Hull. But our admiration cooled on consulting the *Life of Wilberforce*, by his son, the Bishop of Winchester. It appears that this zeal for Catholic priests was not quite disinterested. The biographer explains the matter as follows:—

The Convention had bestowed on Mr. Wilberforce in the course of this summer (of 1792) the doubtful honour of French citizenship. "I am considering," he writes to Mr. Babington, "how to prevent the ill effect which this vote might have upon our Abolition cause." He found the opportunity in an attempt to raise subscriptions for the emigrant clergy." Wilberforce entered in his journal: "Friday, 20 Sept. 1792. To town to the French clergy public meeting, and consented to be on the committee at Burke's request, partly to do away French citizenship."\*

Let, him, however, have the credit of the word "partly." Though it does not appear from his diaries, which are very minute, that he attended many meetings, yet an entry nearly four years later proves that he was, and was known to be, a real sympathizer with the sufferings of the exiles:

March 5, 1796.—Received a letter stating the distress of the French emigrant clergy. *Kept awake at night.* Thought much of them, and formed a plan. March 6th.—After church saw the Bishop of St. Pol de Léon and several other persons on emigrant business. Then with Henry Thornton, by appointment, at my desire, to Lady Buckinghamshire's. She and Miss Macnamara earnest about the poor emigrants.†

The names of at least two Catholic gentlemen appear in the committee—Robert Barnewall and J. J. Angerstein. But the two who showed most zeal and perseverance were the Marquis of

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\* "Life of Wilberforce," p. 108 (ed. 1868).

† Is not this a slip of Wilberforce's pen, or a mistake of his copyist, for Lady Buckingham's? The Marchioness of Buckingham was, from the beginning to the end, full of zeal for the French emigrants, as well as the Marquis. She was also specially connected with Miss Macnamara about this time in several works of relief. The latter lady is characteristically called by the Abbé de Lubersac, Madame de Machemara, and then La Marquise de Machemara ("Journal," pp. 87, 88).

Buckingham and John Wilmot, the chairman. George, first Earl of Buckingham, had been twice Viceroy of Ireland, first as Lord Temple. In every possible way, by money, by exertions, by voice and influence—he befriended the exiles. When the University of Oxford printed and distributed to the priests an edition of the Latin Vulgate New Testament, consisting of 2,000 copies, the Marquis had 2,000 more printed at his own expense. John Eardley Wilmot was born at Derby in 1748, and was educated at Westminster and at Oxford. In 1783 he became a Master in Chancery, and at the close of the American war was appointed commissioner for settling the claims of the Loyalists. He was member for Coventry from 1790. From 1792 to June, 1806, he was chairman of the Central Committee, and gave himself entirely to his great work of mercy. It was principally with him the Government communicated, and he acted throughout with indefatigable zeal and the most tender courtesy. His fifteen years of obscure toil entitle him to rank in the memory of good men with Howard and Wilberforce, and so many more philanthropists of whom England is proud. But we are anticipating.

The Central Committee entered into communication with all local committees, as well as with members of the Government (William Pitt was a member of the Committee). The Bishop of St. Pol, who had hitherto been privately collecting money with an English priest named Meynell, explained to the Committee what had been done. He had 907 priests on his list, and thought there were another 100 in immediate want, besides 500 who were yet able to maintain themselves, but whose means would soon be exhausted. Fresh victims of the persecution were landing every hour. There were 1,000 at Jersey. The number seeking refuge would be doubled and trebled before long. He had already sent £150 to Jersey, £150 to Brussels, and £420 to different parts of England. He was in correspondence with the various bishops and vicars-general whose clergy were in England. The Committee did not hesitate to ask him to be distributor of all the alms collected, he being responsible to them. The Bishop had taken up his residence at 10, Little Queen Street, Holborn, at the house of a Catholic widow named Silburne. This house became the headquarters of all disbursements, whether in money or clothes, Mrs. Silburne devoting herself to the distributions in kind. The Committee, which first met at Freemasons' Tavern, in Great Queen Street, afterwards held its meetings three times a week at the Bishop's residence.

The first public subscription amounted to over £32,000, and when this and other private donations were exhausted, the King called on the archbishops and bishops to have a national collec-

tion, made by clergy and churchwardens at domicile after a sermon preached in the churches. This was in May, 1793, and the amount realized was £41,000. A Catholic subscription and a special ladies' collection may be mentioned in addition. It is calculated that by the middle of 1793 about £75,000 had been given to the clergy and £11,000 to the laity. It was soon apparent that private generosity would be unable to cope with wants which went on always increasing, and seemed likely to last some time. The matter was therefore taken up by the Government; and in December, 1793, £7,830 a month was allotted to the clergy, and £560 to the laity. The lay grant was soon increased to £1,000 a month. Burthened as they were with the cost of the war with France, the Government declared positively for a time that this grant should not be augmented; yet when the number of lay emigrants greatly increased, it was found impossible to keep the resolution, and in July 1794 £1,500 a month, in December 1794, £2,000, and in February 1795, £3,000 was allotted for the laity. In December 1794 the grant to ecclesiastics was raised to £9,000 a month, and though this was quite insufficient, it was found impossible, owing to the cost of the war and the price of provisions, to add to it. Canon Plasse has carefully examined the accounts of the Committee, now in the Record Office, and has quoted many particulars, but he has nowhere given the totals, year by year, distinguishing between the clerical and lay grants. Neither in the Treasury nor in the Audit Office do complete series of finance accounts go back beyond the beginning of the present century. No doubt a calculation might be made from the records of the Central Committee. Charles Butler, however, tells us that he learnt from the secretary of the Committee that in June, 1806, the sums voted in Parliament had reached the total of £1,864,825; and the grants, though in greatly diminished ratio, continued for another ten years. It may be said, without danger of exaggeration, that the Government grants to French priests alone, were considerably over £2,000,000.\* To this must be added the sums subscribed voluntarily, already mentioned, and private gifts of unknown hands. Canon Plasse, after long scrutiny, says: "These anonymous gifts were incessant, and continued until the return of the clergy to France, and

\* From 1794 to 1799, both inclusive, the lists given in the "Annual Register" show an expenditure of £870,719 on the clergy and laity. In Marshall's "Digest" there is a summary of expenditure in "Suffering Clergy and Laity," in each year from 1800 to 1831. This includes, however, the relief of Toulonese, Corsican, and San Domingo emigrants. The summary from 1800 to 1816 is £2,705,869, which is about £2,000,000 for the French clergy and laity. But to this we must add the grants from 1793 to 1800.

amounted to more than the total of both subscriptions and collections (made in churches).\*

It may be said, perhaps, that the Government grants were an act not of generosity but of necessity. The emigrants were not chargeable on the local rates, nor could they be allowed to die of starvation in the streets. This is true; yet many things show that it would be most unjust to attribute the grants to grudging necessity. There was no necessity to receive the strangers, and there were countries in Europe which refused to do so. Or they could have been passed on quickly, with some formal grant of land in one of our colonies, and left to shift for themselves. But beyond this they were treated throughout with all possible consideration and courtesy, and their claim was always spoken of, not as that of paupers, but of sufferers for conscience. An English lady, Mrs. Hannats, addressing her countrywomen, said: "Charity knows no party. We plead, not for the faith of the French priests, but for their wants. But, let it not be forgotten, had those men been willing to sacrifice their conscience to their temporal interest, they would not be now in this country."† The King also, in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (July 17, 1793) says that the priests sought shelter in England "alone for conscience sake."‡ Sir Henry Mildmay, M.P. for Winchester, even when bringing in a Bill against conventual institutions in 1800, speaks of "that unfortunate and meritorious class of men who have preferred the sacrifice of all their temporal interests, and actual expulsion from their native country, to the abandonment of their principles and their religion."§

With these sentiments, which seem to have prevailed universally, we are not surprised that M. Plasse bears testimony to and gives many examples of the great courtesy extended to the priests. One instance may be quoted. An English frigate, the *Indefatigable*, on August 7, 1798, captured a French corvette, the *Vaillante*. The captain, Sir Edward Pellew, visited his prize, and noticing, among a large number of convicts who were in the French vessel, some of a different appearance to the rest, he asked who they were. One of them replied that they were twenty-five priests whom the Directory was sending to Guiana. The captain at once lifted his hat, and bowing to them, said with emotion: "I am happy, gentlemen, to deliver you from an almost certain death. You are the richest prize I have yet made." He then had the other convicts and the French sailors conveyed to his own frigate, leaving the priests in the corvette, and choosing the Catholic men of his crew to navigate her.

\* Plasse, vol. i. p. 251.

† *Ibid.* p. 246.

‡ April, 1793. See Plasse, vol. i. p. 242.

§ Hansard, xxxv. p. 340.

When they arrived at Plymouth they were not only set at liberty, but put at once on the list of those who received weekly maintenance.\*

We cannot enter into the details of the distribution of the alms, which fill the greater part of Canon Plasse's book. No distinction was made of rank, except between the bishops and other priests. There were thirty bishops in England, but the Archbishop of Aix and Narbonne, and the Bishops of Montpellier, Rodez, Perigueux and De l'Escar, having means of their own, would not receive help.† The bishops received ten guineas a month, the other priests thirty-five shillings or two guineas. Distributors were appointed in different districts, and these were invariably French priests recommended by their bishops, and appointed by the bishop of St Pol, to whom the general superintendence was committed. He was responsible to the committee, and they to the Treasury. Every precaution was taken against fraud, either on the part of the distributors or recipients. Besides the weekly doles, great care was given to the sick and the demented, and extra sums granted to extraordinary cases and for travelling expenses, when change of residence was necessary.

One of the most interesting features of the narrative is the account given of the various houses allotted by the Government for residence of large bodies of priests. A house at Fortune, near Gosport, was set apart at the beginning of the immigration, and received as many as 250 in October, 1792. In April, 1793, these were removed to Winchester, where there were others already assembled, and being joined by 200 from Jersey, they made up a community of 600, which was increased to 700 by the end of the year. These all lived together, and 150 more were scattered through the city. The residence of this large body of priests was an unfinished palace begun by Charles II., and called the King's House. It is now used as a barrack. During the former wars with France it had been set apart to receive French prisoners. It was now repaired and sufficiently furnished at the expense of the Government, and the canons, curés, and vicaires of France found themselves suddenly converted, in a Protestant country and by a Protestant Government, into a religious community, under the Abbé Martin, a religious of the Congregation of Eudistes, and formerly superior of the Grand Séminaire of Lisieux. Officials and servants had been provided, but the priests found they could manage domestic matters better and more economically themselves, and reduced the expenses of this great community to about 5s. 6d. a head per week. A party of 200 transformed themselves into artisans, and a carpet or tapestry

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\* Plasse, vol. i. p. 133 ; ii. p. 94.

† De Lubersac, p. 20.



manufactory was established by the aid of the Marchioness of Buckingham. She herself managed the sale of their work, and the profits were their own. None were idle. Lectures and conferences on theology and Holy Scripture were given; some young ecclesiastics finished their education, and were ordained; retreats were made and preached. Besides the English Catholic Church in the city, there were two chapels in the King's House. High mass and vespers were sung on Sundays and feast-days, and of course many masses were offered daily. Perpetual adoration was kept up from half-past five in the morning to eight at night.

All this continued for three years and a half, when, owing to the fear of invasion, the King's House was required as a barrack, and the community was broken up. Some were dispersed, but three other houses were provided by the Government for those who preferred community life; one at Reading for 300, another at Thame for 110, and a third at Paddington for 60. It is rather amusing to find that, though there had been no scandal, the antipathy between Normans and Bretons had so far manifested itself that it was judged more prudent to place the Normans at Reading and Paddington, under Norman superiors, the Bretons at Thame under a Breton. Canon Plasse gives many interesting particulars regarding these establishments, as well as concerning a military school established at Penn, near Beaconsfield, principally by the influence of Edmund Burke, for the sons, mostly orphans, of French Royalist officers.

The dispersed clergy sought by every means in their power to maintain themselves as teachers of French or Latin, music, drawing, or mathematics, and even as tailors, shoemakers, clock-makers, or field labourers. Charming details are given of their gaiety, as well as sad pictures of their distress.\* Some found more congenial and appropriate occupation in the spiritual care of their countrymen. The Government gave permission to erect chapels for public worship, and the registers, still preserved at the French Church of St. Louis in London, tell of the work performed. The Bishop of Coutances was at that time the diocesan of our Channel Islands, and it was from him, of course,

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\* Mr. J. Winter Jones, in his "Preface to the List of Books of Reference in the Reading-room of the British Museum," says:—"The French Revolution led to a considerable increase in the number of readers during the first years of that extraordinary convulsion. Nearly one-half of those admitted in the year 1795 consisted of French refugees. Among them were the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Uzès and of Troyes, the Count de St. Cyr . . . with a long list of abbés and men of less note, all of whom sought relief from the *ennui* of their exile in the reading-room of the British Museum."



that jurisdiction emanated. Bishop Douglas, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, constituted the Bishop of St. Pol de Léon his vicar-general in all that related to the French; and it was he who appointed priests to serve the various chapels in London, at Southampton, Lymington, Romsey, Hardway, near Gosport, and Winchester. For an account of these chapels and the zealous labours of the priests we must refer to Canon Plasse. We will say a few words about one that he has passed over. A French chapel was opened in Winchester in 1798, after the breaking up of the King's House community, and was quite distinct from the two chapels used by the clergy there, as well as from the English Catholic Church in St. Peter's Street. It is not mentioned by Dr. Milner in his "History of Winchester," published just before its opening, nor alluded to by Dr. Husenbeth in his "Life of Milner," nor by Canon Plasse; but it is called in the register preserved in the archives in London, "*Chapelle Catholique Française à Winchester.*" It is amusing to see how the priests were sometimes puzzled as to the ecclesiastical position of England. As all acts of baptism, marriage, &c., might be important after the hoped-for return to France, the French priests took care at each entry to repeat in full all that would serve to explain their acts during their exile. M. Auger, the priest in charge at Winchester, declares that he is *cure* of such a parish in France, that he is cruelly banished for his faith, that he is *missionnaire apostolique* in England, that he is appointed by the Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, whom he calls vicar-general of Monseigneur l'Evêque de Londres; afterwards (finding that this designation is incorrect) Evêque de Centurie et Missionnaire Apostolique. It is not till the third year that Bishop Douglas gets his true title of *Vicar Apostolic*. Two other matters of some interest may be here stated, since there is no mention of them in Canon Plasse, and we have sought in this notice to supplement as well as to abridge his work. One is the appointment of a French army chaplain; the other a mission given to French prisoners of war. A register of baptisms, marriages and deaths was kept in Southampton from December, 1792, at the first landing of the emigrants, to December, 1804. The chapel and register after a year's interval were transferred to Lymington, and date from January, 1806, to December, 1807, and again from July, 1808, to July, 1813. Here several names are English and Irish, since there was no other chapel in that neighbourhood; whereas in Winchester the French priest's jurisdiction was confined to the exiles. With the death of M. Le Tellier, the priest who had served at Southampton and Lymington for ten years, the register ceases; but we then come upon the interesting fact of an army chaplain, though only for the foreign troops in

English pay. In 1814, and to August 28, 1815, the registers are signed by the *Prêtre Missionnaire Apostolique et Chapelain des Troupes du Foreign Dépôt à Lymington*. At the final fall of Napoleon and the breaking up of the foreign contingent the chaplain no doubt returned to France. He leaves a note, that all future entries must be made by the Rev. Mr. Brown, resident at Pyle Wells House, near Lymington.

The account of the mission to French prisoners is given by De Lubersac. He does not mention the date, but it was before 1802 when he wrote. Thirty thousand French prisoners filled the prisons of Porchester, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Bristol, Norman Cross, Chatham, &c. Their wretched spiritual condition moved the compassion of the Bishop of St. Pol, who was the first mover in all good works. He gathered a number of experienced and zealous priests, got special leave from the Government, and sent them to the various prisons. Though as priests and as royalists they met with contempt and insult from the majority of the prisoners, on the other hand they had great success and consolation with others. It is a touching incident that when the good missionaries made known to the Bishop and other priests the frightful state of nudity in which they found many of the prisoners, a subscription was opened among the poor banished priests for their relief, and these men, who had scarcely decent clothing for themselves, deprived themselves of all that was not absolutely necessary to clothe their more necessitous fellow-countrymen.\* This is but one out of many traits of generosity, which we regret to pass over.

Their generosity in assisting each other was only equalled by their gratitude to the English. More than a year before the Government grants, and before any of the great public subscriptions had been made, at the end of the year 1792, the Bishop of Léon thus addressed the French priests in England :

May the God of mercies shower down His chosen blessings on a people who seem chosen by Him to vindicate the violated laws of nature and humanity ! In the days of French power and glory England often disputed the field of battle, and her efforts were often crowned with success in asserting her right to the dominion of both seas. But she offers to us a more glorious spectacle, a triumph of a higher nature. She has opened her ports to you, she considers you not as strangers, she sees you are unhappy, and she embraces you as brethren and friends. The English are not startled at your numbers ; they think the best use they can make of their great opulence is to afford succour to a greater number of persons in distress. . . . In the seaports, in cities, in villages, in the isles [Jersey, &c.], and the capital, what an eagerness to anticipate and relieve our wants. Citizens of every rank,

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\* De Lubersac : "Journal," p. 101.

pressing forward to welcome a colony of unfortunate exiles with a brotherly affection, were more happy in the offer of their services than you in receiving them, anxious to conceal the hand that ministered to your wants, and hurt only by the reserve that hid them. . . . These attentions, this liberality, were not confined to any particular description of men, but common to the whole nation, and to every class that composes it: to the corporations, the chapters, the universities, to the palaces of the rich and the humble cottages of the poor.\*

We would not, of course, be understood, from what has been said or quoted, to assert that all was peace and charity in this unexpected bringing together of French and English, Catholic priests and prejudiced Protestants. There were some outbreaks of violence, some ebullitions of bigotry. But considering the long enmity between England and France, and the war that was raging at that very time; considering also the ignorance and prejudice that prevailed, and the recent outbreak in the Gordon riots, the forbearance and generosity of England to these outcasts of her old rival, and priests of her discarded faith, were as remarkable as the gratitude of the French priests was sincere and their conduct edifying. The presence of so many priests in England created great alarm in some minds; but good feeling prevailed, and prevented the panic from spreading. There was a Mr. Jones in those days, as there has been a Spooner and a Whalley in our own. In a debate on Monastic Institutions in 1804, Mr. Jones spoke as follows:—"A celebrated character had said of the French Revolution that the age of chivalry was gone. So would he say that the age of Popery had commenced. He could not but think that danger was to be apprehended from 5,000 priests being in the country." But Mr. Jones was answered by Mr. Sheridan:

A foolish alarm had been sent abroad respecting the number of emigrant clergy now in this country. They were said to amount to 5,000, and persons had even been absurd enough to say that in one county alone they had converted 2,000 housemaids. How this wonderful conversion was brought about he could not well conceive. The emigrant priests spoke but little English, and our housemaids spoke as little French.†

Sheridan was right. Not only their ignorance of the language, but the fact that they were enjoying English hospitality prevented the French priests from making any active efforts to spread the Catholic faith. But their Masses, their prayers, their sufferings, and the good odour of their example, have not been without

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\* Milner's translation.

† Hansard, vol. xxxv.

effect in dispelling prejudice and drawing grace upon the country. Their edifying conduct was readily and universally acknowledged both by friends and enemies at the time. Now that we look back on this episode of the Church's history, we perceive in it, not dimly, the divine purpose, purifying as well as vindicating the Church of France, and giving to England an opportunity of national reparation to that Catholic Church she had so deeply outraged for more than two centuries. Carlyle, in describing the Church in France before the Revolution, writes with admiration of the age of Canossa, "when kings stood barefoot in penance-shirt," but sneers at the Church as changed since then, and making patrons of her kings; and laughs contemptuously at the "Sorbonne, mumbling only jargon of dotage, and no longer leading the consciences of men." As to the latter charge, it ill befits a writer who himself took the rôle of one crying in the wilderness. Is doctrine that has ceased to be popular necessarily jargon of dotage? Is the disbelief of either fools or "philosophes" an evidence of falsehood? If the Catholic faith ceased, in a great measure, to lead the consciences of men towards the end of the eighteenth century, it certainly had not ceased to hold the consciences of its teachers in France. The sincerity and earnestness of the faith that made them endure spoliation and exile is beyond cavil; and, to us at least, it is a grander spectacle to see 50,000 priests (for that was the number of the non-jurants) going willingly forth to banishment, and living in toil and penury for years, than to see even a proud emperor doing penance against his will. It is for this reason we hope that Canon Plasse's volumes will be read and studied both in England and in France. Written from a French point of view, and consisting in great part of translations into French of English documents, they will not bear translation into English in their present form; but we should welcome an English adaptation, supplemented from English sources, as an important addition to our historical literature, both civil and religious.

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

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#### ART. IX.—THE LOST, STRAYED AND STOLEN OF OUR CATHOLIC POOR CHILDREN.

OF the many humiliating and distressing sights to be met with daily in the richest and most populous of our large towns, there is none more saddening and more frequent than that of the ill-clad, ill-washed, and ill-fed street arab.

He is indeed ubiquitous, and his presence, with all its afflicting

detail, has long since grown familiar to us. We have, as it were, grown callous to the sight, and look upon his company as an unwholesome necessity. We have been so accustomed to live and work amongst them that their absence would astound us, while their presence has become to us a human landmark in our daily occupations and journeys through life. Yet, with it all, we know little of them, save that they exist and increase in number, that they are living pictures of untold suffering, misery and want; that they are one of a family which lies hidden from our sight in some damp, dark, fetid room or cellar, in a neighbourhood known to us only by name. At times, it is true, their haunts, mode of life and characteristics are set vividly before us by a special correspondent of some great daily newspaper, who, working the subject up into a thrilling and harrowing article, excites our curiosity, awakens our flagging sympathy, and rouses us to make impulsive use of generous resolutions. At other times we read of some great movement being set on foot with the object of reaching and affording relief, spiritual and temporal, to the thousands who fill our courts and alleys by night, and crowd our central thoroughfares by day. Again, our newspapers bring before us heartrending appeals, emanating from philanthropic societies, on behalf of the boy, the orphan, the deaf, the blind, the lame, the fallen, and others of that countless army of poor suffering souls, who eke out a miserable and precarious existence in all our large cities.

There is both instructive and interesting reading to be found in the annual reports published by these societies. The mind becomes enlightened on many subjects concerning which it had long been in darkness. To the superficial reader there is much that is comforting. He is struck with the energy and zeal displayed by "The Boys' Beadle" in his daily rounds in quest of the arab. He is cheered in reading that many have been rescued, that homes have been found for them. He is quite touched with the gratitude evinced by others in return for favours received. Every page glistens with hope, and is heavily laden with good deeds done. The last leaf, which contains the yearly balance sheet, is the only chilling page in the bright little volume. He will close the book with the conviction that the Society is doing a noble and benevolent work—that it should certainly be encouraged and supported.

But reflections far more serious and weighty than these arise from a perusal of these reports. They reveal the existence of an unfathomable social disease in our midst, which has been allowed to grow and spread until it has covered the whole surface of the three kingdoms, with its thousands upon thousands of helpless, abandoned, and neglected victims.

Abandoned, helpless, and neglected indeed they would remain if left to be dealt with under the existing legislative machinery. School Boards, Industrial and Reformatory Schools have proved insufficient in accommodation, in organization, and in scope to clear the streets of the class which is most in need of their help and protection. That they have done much is not to be denied, but that there is much more left still undone the present state of our streets bears cruel and convincing testimony. Private philanthropy has long since stepped in, and has worked with untiring zeal and energy. The result speaks volumes for the extent and magnitude of the evil it has taken upon itself to check and diminish. The appeals issued by these societies prove that an immense effort is constantly being made to deal with the neglected and deserted children of our cities. They reveal the existence of an organization widespread in its influence, uncontrolled in its operations, unlimited in authority and control over its subjects, and worked at the discretion and dictation of some half-dozen members of an executive committee, responsible in some measure that the funds lavished upon them have been disbursed for the furtherance of the objects in view, but responsible to no one as to the ways and means by which those objects are attained.

The growth of these foundations of voluntary houses for the waifs and strays of both sexes has been rapid. They are to be found in every city of the kingdom, aye, almost in every village, bearing testimony to the zeal of hundreds, the charity of thousands.

Of the number of children picked up annually by the officers of the homes and refuges there is no possible means of forming any reliable estimate. From Low's "Handbook to the Charities of London" (1886-7), an extract of some seventy voluntary boys' and girls' homes gives the following result:—

Inmates—over 14,000.

Annual Income—£225,000.

This number by no means exhausts the total number of similar institutions now flourishing in London. The *classified list of reformatory and preventive institutions* connected with the Reformatory and Refuge Union (1884) gives a total of 70 provincial voluntary homes, with 2,868 inmates. Of the number of homes unconnected with this Union there is no mention. That their number is very large, few of our readers will doubt. The more they have travelled the deeper will be their conviction that these institutions are ubiquitous, that every town in which they may have sojourned has a long list of local charities, and that a boys' and girls' refuge home inevitably forms an item in the list.

The management and general arrangements of these homes are as a rule eminently satisfactory from a material point of view. The inmates are well-fed, well-clothed, and usually well-behaved. They are doubtless instrumental in doing great good, in saving vast numbers who would assuredly have drifted into the ranks of those who fill our jails and infest our streets. From this point they are worthy of the support which is evidently dealt out to them with no stingy hand. The world is not too critical. It looks at general results achieved; it is not over-inquisitive as to the means used in their production. It first knew the waif as he stood, idle, ragged, and miserable, in the street, it can scarcely recognize him as he now appears, the bright, sharp, well-fed boy. This to it is a demonstration of practical philanthropy—a something gained for the money expended. It has few, if any, religious scruples, and for such as it has it will find speedy comfort and assurance in learning that “the chief aim” of these institutions is to reclaim and elevate the neglected and criminal classes, by educating them in the fear of God and in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

We Catholics, however, cannot afford to view the work carried on by the societies in so easy and superficial a light. The whole question is a very grave one from our point of view, and recent disclosures in Ireland and England have tended to strengthen the fears and doubts which were slowly rising in our minds. We have found out late, very late indeed, that Christian philanthropy is being used as a cloak to proselytism of the worst and most heinous description. The good name and fame deservedly enjoyed by many prominent Christian associations and institutions have been borrowed and made use of by latter-day founders of homes and refuges. They possess all the external qualifications of the former; they work apparently much on the same lines, only more noisily. The good they do, the converts they make are in perpetual evidence, either in public halls or in the columns of some weekly or monthly paper, which finds an extensive sale through the forced exertions of a small army of youths told off for the purpose to the various towns in the neighbourhood. It is with such spurious institutions as these we intend dealing in our present article. And before submitting and reviewing proofs of the mode of procedure adopted by them, we would first say a word on the cause and sources which bring so many thousands of our children within range of their hateful and pernicious power. For the mournful truth must be told: a large proportion of the waif and stray element is doubtlessly furnished by our own children. We have done much, and are daily making great sacrifices for our voluntary schools and missions, but little has yet been done for that



fearful residuum out of which the lost, strayed and stolen of our Catholic poor children are to be accounted for. Last year it was our painful privilege to be engaged for a considerable time in analyzing and tabulating a large number of census returns taken in Manchester and Salford. The object was in furtherance of an inquiry instituted by the Bishop of Salford, in order to find out the probable losses to the faith through such causes as proselytism, mixed marriages, workhouses, and other sources, such as the neglect and death of parents. We shall have occasion, later on, to refer to the revelations brought to light concerning proselytism; for the present we will confine ourselves to those exposed by the census-taking.

The estimated Catholic population of Manchester and Salford exceeds considerably 100,000. From various causes, which need not here be gone into, the returns sent in included but 74,952. A careful study of these census returns resulted in ascertaining the causes of danger to which children of an age from one to twenty were exposed, to be (1) from irreligious parents, (2) from mixed marriages, and (3) from careless and indifferent parents. The group of cases falling under each of these causes was further distinguished into several degrees of danger.\* The degrees of danger were *extreme*, *great* and *danger*. The danger was to be considered *extreme* when from the returns filled in on the census sheets the child's soul was in imminent peril—where there appeared no human hope for his salvation so long as he remained in the midst of his irreligious or immoral surroundings; the parents were never at mass or their Easter duties, the children never at mass or a Catholic school, where, in a word, they, callous and heedless of their own spiritual welfare, seemed to be determined to drag by their example their children with them to perdition. The second degree, or *great danger*, was used for cases not far removed in significance of detail from the first—where a redeeming feature of conduct was to be noted from one or other member of the household, but where irreligious tendencies were paramount, and had already left disastrous traces behind them. Under the heading of *danger* simply, were classed those cases in which some ray of hope for the little ones existed, a home where religious feeling was traceable through the conduct of one or another of the family, but still where danger was lurking in the example set by a parent.

As to the causes of danger, that of *mixed marriages* bears

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\* To causes one and two three degrees of danger were given, to the third, that of careless and indifferent parents, but two, it being considered that in those cases where the third was required, they should come under the category of irreligious parents.

its own explanation. It is a fruitful and growing source of danger, and one which offers the least possible hope of successful remedies. That of *irreligious parents* included that class of people from which it would seem all religious feeling or belief had died out, especially when tabulated under the heading of *extreme and great danger*. *Careless and indifferent parents* were those of a class more often to be pitied than blamed, poverty, want of work, a drunken parent, combining to make the home one of misery and wretchedness. The children of this class were oftentimes regular in their attendance at school, and were more exposed to danger in the streets than in their own homes.

The following statistics and analysis of the condition of children under twenty-one give the results of the census-taking :

In *extreme danger* of loss of faith or practically lost to the faith.

Under 7	.	.	.	.	2,381		
" 16	.	.	.	.	2,130		
" 21	.	.	.	.	909	...	5,420

In *great danger*.

Under 7	.	.	.	.	1,208		
" 16	.	.	.	.	819		
" 21	.	.	.	.	314	...	2,341

In *danger*.

Under 7	.	.	.	.	885		
" 16	.	.	.	.	744		
" 21	.	.	.	.	283	...	1,912

The following tables show the result of the classification of cause, age and extent :—

	Age.	Extreme danger.	Great danger.	Danger.
Per irreligious parents.	under 7	1,631	791	144
	" 16	1,485	526	173
	" 21	731	177	80
		3,847	1,494	397 = 5,738
Per mixed marriages.	under 7	750	324	181
	" 16	645	199	160
	" 21	178	100	47
		1,573	623	388 = 2,584
Per careless and indifferent parents.	under 7		93	560
	" 16		94	411
	" 21		37	156
			224	1,127 = 1,351

Thus we have a gross total of 9,673 children under twenty-one

in various degrees of danger through the three causes specified. Of this number no less than 5,420 are in extreme danger of the loss of faith. For these there appeared but little earthly hope. Many have been born in sin, all have been reared in its midst, and have grown familiar with its various aspects through the daily examples furnished them by their parents. Their young lives have been lives of misery, suffering and degradation—the future apparently awaiting them is one of sin, crime and riot. They seem to be outside the pale of civilization, beyond the reach of religious influence; both have long since been driven from their houses, all traces of one and the other have vanished from the parents. The children, freed from all restraint, roam where they list, the streets become their homes, their school, their church, and their recreation ground, and here they live and dwell as outcasts, awaiting but the chance and opportunity of becoming criminals.

This state of things is not peculiar to Manchester and Salford alone. In a greater or lesser degree it exists in every town throughout the kingdom, and the picture here exhibited of our lost and strayed in Manchester and Salford has its counterpart throughout the country.

Here, then, we have the recruiting materials for filling the homes, refuges and bird-nests founded by private charity for the rescue of the straying. Truly our contingent is a formidable one and easy of enlistment. The task of the recruiter is an easy one, and the condition and surroundings of those to be enlisted favour and help its accomplishment. Hunger and cold are hard of bearing, homes wherein blows and ill-treatment are the order of the day are the reverse of attractive or attaching. The capture is soon and readily effected. The parents see nothing disadvantageous in the terms proposed; the bargain entails no expenditure, nay, brings in money or relief—the “good-for-nothing” lad is made over to the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties. There is one waif the less on the streets, it is true, but there is another soul robbed of its faith to swell the ranks of uncertain Protestantism. We have, we think, written enough to show that a very large proportion of our children come within that class which receives the exclusive care and attention of the societies and institutions interested in the reclaiming and educating of its members—also, that the causes which have produced such disastrous results are those which present the greatest facilities to those engaged in the rescue work. So long as these causes are present, and they are never likely to be absent, proselytism will exist and flourish, unless opposed and met by a counter-organization of homes and refuges. It is worth our while to study deeply the existing organization

against which we have to contend. It is wide in its sphere of operations, and it is eminently successful in its mode of carrying them out. We shall come across some strange facts in our researches. These will be useful to us in many ways: (1) in laying open the snares and lairs into which our children, through the neglect or wilful desertion of their parents, often fall; (2) the mode of procedure adopted by many societies in easing religious scruples of the parents; (3) the wonderful influence the societies possess in police-courts, and the great business there carried on by them, and in a word many other *little* hints and disclosures which, if we are not disposed to imitate, we can at least bear in mind as useful indications for any occasion when we may be called upon to act.

In putting before our readers the results of our researches and investigations into proselytising homes and institutions, we intend to be guided by facts. Of these fortunately, there is an abundance at our disposal. They relate chiefly to what has been and is still going on in Manchester and Salford. When we leave these towns we shall be careful to take our authorities with us.

Institutions such as boys' and girls' refuges, like their inmates, have to be fed. This feeding-house exists in the form of a night refuge. Attached to this house is a matron, a secretary, and an officer or two. The duty of this officer is to seize any boy or girl selling newspapers and other vendible articles after seven o'clock at night, to bring to the refuge all waifs and strays sleeping out or wandering about apparently without proper guardianship. They can either be lodged in the night refuge or taken to a neighbouring police-station. If here, they must be brought up next morning on a charge of begging, or under the Industrial School Act. If this latter course is not pursued they are dealt with privately, that is, the parents are seen by the secretary and an arrangement come to. From the refuge they are taken to a central home which has many offshoots. Here they remain, or are drafted away to one or another branch. As to the arrangements with the parents a word must be said. If in the opinion of the committee—three or more of which are sufficient to form a quorum—the parents are unfit guardians of the child, the child is detained in spite of them, or they are won over to sign an agreement which hands over the custody of the child to the detainers, giving them, so the parents are led to believe, absolute power over him, even to the extent of sending him to Canada. A clause is inserted to the effect that should the parent at any time claim the child, he engages himself to pay a total sum, equivalent to five shillings or eight shillings a-week for each week of the child's detention. A stamp is judiciously affixed to this paragraph, which thus becomes a promissory note on signa-

ture by the parent, and which serves as a means of intimidation and menace to him in case he should feel disposed to prove "troublesome."

Neither the central home nor its far-reaching branches are solely dependent on the night refuges for its inmates. The town boasts some twenty-nine ragged schools with a staff of over 600 teachers, male and female. The average weekly attendance is estimated at over 7000. Here a knowledge of the Scriptures is imparted to the children, according to the views and interpretations of the staff. This large attendance is not secured without considerable pressure on the part of the teachers, coupled with a good deal of discreet alms-giving. The children are easily booked, the parents often hold out until some substantial bribe is given them, and this of course is continued as long as the child remains. Among the duties of the staff is that of making themselves acquainted with the families in their district. This they do to perfection. They are assiduous in their attendance upon the sick, and are zealous and active agents in bringing in children to the homes or refuge. Through them the mission women, Bible teachers and readers find entrance into the houses of the sick and dying. The suffering are often removed to hospitals, and during their stay there the benevolent Christian has found a home for their children, who, being in need of a change of air, are removed to Canada in the hopes of finding it there. Let us now make a visit to the police-court. There are, as usual, a large number of children's cases to be got through, some to be referred to the School Board for investigation, others that have been remanded and are "up" for settlement. Near the solicitors' well we notice a respectably dressed female, and not far from her a smart young fellow busy with a note-book. The case of a girl charged with begging is before the Bench. The School Board officer refuses to have anything to do with it. It is not a case for an industrial school; there is some talk of the workhouse; the woman steps forward, a whispered conversation takes place between the magistrate or his clerk and her, a nod of the head, the child leaves the court in the custody of the young woman. The home has found another inmate—a few moments later the case of a boy is disposed of in a similar way. He, too, has gone to be "reclaimed and educated in the fear of God and the knowledge of the Scriptures."

Let us pass from here to the prison, and enter the cell of some wretched man awaiting trial or under sentence of a term of imprisonment. What do we see here? The female Scripture-reader administering spiritual consolation, extracting a confession which may or may not be used against the accused at his approaching trial? She is here for other purposes than

this. He has children, and she must have them. The agreement is once again produced, and the child once more captured.

We have yet another call to make; this time to the hospital. The woman is here again, bending low over the couch of a poor sufferer. There are children in this case, and the woman must have them. The agreement is once more visible, and the sufferer is wearied into signing away the souls which are in quest.

Let us now take a turn among the lodging-houses. We shall find this field a large one and the workers active. They know most of the lodging-house keepers; they know the haunts of the young. They know the resting-place of the tramps—that travelling class of misery and vice. There is work to be done here; new batches have arrived since the last visit was made. Children of young and tender age born on the wayside are to be had here for the asking; they earn nothing, they cost little, but they are troublesome on the road.

We must leave the town and travel to Liverpool. There is a party of children going from Manchester to Canada. A large number of friends and patrons are assembled at the Central Refuge to witness the departure. A breakfast, a prayer, a distribution of Bibles, constitute the programme. Liverpool is reached, and they are marched down to the docks. A large crowd is assembled to see them embark, and ever among this crowd is some anxious father and mother to see if their lost or strayed child is among them. Their search is in vain. The children of "troublesome" parents have left by another route—have gone away with another batch from London or elsewhere.

The little ones going are lively enough. They are generally over fourteen, an age which affords their protectors some legal impunity in the course they are taking. They have all signed a paper declaring their wish to go out; they have all written a letter to the committee asking to go. Have they not read wonderful stories of what has happened to Lizzie Darcy or Johnny Smith and others—how they were adopted, and are now ladies and gentlemen? Have they not seen pictures of "old boys" dressed in furs, with snow-shoes on? Have not the Reports of their Homes contained letters upon letters from those who have gone out, descriptive of the happy lives they are leading, and of the goodness and kindness of all around them? This is their picture of emigration; but there is yet another side to it, and of this side we shall have something more to say before concluding this article.

We have other places yet to visit; amongst others, a soup-kitchen, open all the year round, the recipients of which have to show a ticket of attendance at the Sunday prayer and hymn meetings. Medical missions next attract our attention. Here,

as at the soup-kitchen, temporal relief is afforded to those who suffer, on condition of being present at the religious services—in brief, spiritual medicine first, and bodily medicine after; in other words, your soul first, and then food and raiment to follow. Here is a Nursery and Home for Widows' Children, open to the children of those who can pay £2 2s. annually, or a lump sum of £10. This cheap and "no inquiries made" system of baby-housing is subject to an agreement in which the following clauses appear:—"In consideration of your receiving . . . . into the said Institution, I agree . . . . that I will not remove . . . . without your consent." The usual clause indemnifying the committee for expenses follows, and then comes: "I also promise and agree to remove the said child . . . . at any time if called upon to do so, and I also agree to your finding . . . . a home either in England or abroad, as you may think proper."

So much for the Institutions and their mode of procedure. Now to refer to the success attending the efforts made to gain the souls and bodies of our children.

A Board of Inquiry into Proselytism, established in the early part of 1885, brought out the following results:—Institutions visited or inquired into, seventy-five; Institutions known to be proselytizing, thirty-seven. Lost to the Faith in Manchester and Salford through proselytizing agencies and through the workhouse system, 254 children; in danger of apostasy through ragged schools, soup-kitchens, City Missions, 573 children; total for one year, 831.

Much has transpired since that Board met and separated, and the evidence collected by it has been more than confirmed by the fresh disclosures of cases which have come to light since then, and are daily pouring in. The truth is, proselytism surrounds us on every side; there is not a mission in the two cities which does not furnish victims to its subtle and mysterious influence and organization. It is at once audacious yet crafty, insolent yet craving and hypocritical; it can be winning and threatening, gentle and swaggering; all according to the cases it has to deal with. It is ever insensible to rebuke; invites inquiries and scorns to meet them. It is loud in its professions of non-sectarianism, in its boasts of dispensing charity to members of all creeds and denominations. "No question of creed is ever asked," and other high-sounding advertisements of loftiness of principle, integrity of character, whereby the pence of the poor, the pound of the rich, are gained. It is full of gentleness and Christian mildness on the platform, rich in Scriptural knowledge, and eloquent in its descriptions of the love it bears the little ones. It is hard and domineering in the hovel, profuse in its threats and menaces to those who withhold their children from



it. It seeks not the parent's salvation or reformation; it wants but the child. For this it is prepared to pay in kind most agreeable to the wants of its guardians. It will pander to them, if needs be; it is equally ready to bring trouble and annoyance upon them. Their antecedents are known; the skeleton in the cupboard is no secret to it; their misfortunes are its gain; it sets price upon its silence, and that price is the body and soul of their children.

The few following instances of cases which have actually occurred will illustrate the various phases of procedure we have described:—

First, then, as regards the feeding-houses or the night refuge. We will take two cases brought before the Manchester School Board in December of last year by Mr. T. F. Kelly, member of that Board. Two boys, named John Walsh and Charles Campbell, were taken up by the officer of the Refuge for selling newspapers in prohibited hours. The rule adopted by the School Board officer in such cases is, either to restore the children to their parents, summoning them afterwards, or, in case they cannot be traced, to lodge the children in the nearest police-station. This course was not pursued by the officer in question. The children, like many others, were removed to the Refuge [the parents not communicated with until some forty-eight hours after], and then would have been drafted into other homes had not the parents heard of the capture and applied for them.

A later case is that furnished by John and James Kennedy, who were picked up by the Refuge officer and were removed to the Central Home. The first news of the fact reached the grandmother's ears through inquiries she made in the streets among boys wearing the uniform of the Institution. These children were ultimately recovered after legal pressure had been brought to bear upon the detainers.

But yesterday a priest in Manchester brought under our notice a case in which the mother is bewailing the loss of a younger son who had been enticed away from home by an elder brother, inmate of a "working boys' home," which one she knew not. This poor woman is thoroughly respectable and fully able to support her children, and of a character which can bear every investigation. Needless to say that we know where to look for the stolen one.

Such is the mode followed by the "feeders." Let us examine that of the mother-house, or Central Home. Here it is the committee sit, investigate cases, examine applicants, and deal out consolation to the distracted parent. Let us accompany one on her journey thither. Her boy, Joseph McArdle, has been snatched away from her, she knows not why; she is respectable,

and has a clean and comfortable home. She has heard that he is going to Canada. Her husband is dead, and her boy is now of an age when he might contribute to her support. She calls at the home, asks if what she has heard is true, if she can see him. She is told it is. He has written for permission. The committee have granted it. She *cannot* see him, and he was to sail next day. He was over fourteen; he could do as he willed. She had better go away. Here is another case: a boy, Thomas F——, aged nine, was applied for in November, 1886, by his grandmother, living in C—— Street, Hulme, Manchester. Her application was answered by the following letter:—

DEAR MADAM,—The committee of this Institution cannot at all agree to Thomas F—— going to live with you. Therefore it is quite useless you calling for him on Monday next. Some time in the future Mr. S—— will call and see you on the subject; meantime the matter must rest. The boy is very happy and doing very well, and we cannot run the risk of all we have done being undone.

A case of still more recent occurrence is that heard on December 16, 1886, in the Manchester City Police-court. At the instance of a Mrs. Davidson, a charge was preferred by the Salford Catholic Protection and Rescue Society against one George Raymond, an officer of the Manchester Boys and Girls' Refuge, of stealing her boy, aged seven years. From the evidence it appeared that the mother had at one time signed an agreement handing her child over to the custody of this Society. This agreement she broke by taking the boy away and handing him over to the care of a Mrs. Boyd, a respectable innkeeper. Here the child remained for over two months, the mother refusing to restore the boy to the care of the managers of the Home. That considerable pressure of a harsh and cruel nature had been brought to bear upon the unfortunate woman to induce her to give up the child, the evidence bore witness to. On November 17 the officer entered Mrs. Boyd's house and forcibly took away the child in spite of Mrs. Boyd's protests. For the defence the agreement was produced, and the stipendiary seemed satisfied that its force still held good, and that it was a sufficient answer to the charge. The counsel engaged for the prosecution urged the fact that the agreement was illegal, and therefore void, because the mother had no right to barter her child; but, even supposing it was a valid document, the mother revoked it by taking her boy away and placing him in the charge of Mrs. Boyd. She had, since doing so, acquainted the Society's officer with her determination never to allow the boy to return into their hands. In spite of this they had seized the child.

We have now to make good our charges against the managers of ragged-schools. Certain remarks made by the Right Rev.

Bishop Vaughan in his recent pastoral on "The Loss of our Catholic Children" have been characterized as "cruel and unjust" by a prominent member of the Manchester Ragged School Union. That they were neither cruel nor unjust we will very plainly show. The three following cases are distinctly traceable to the personal interference of a member of Heyrod Street Ragged School, Ancoats, Manchester. They all occurred in streets of the immediate vicinity.

1. Mr. and Mrs. C—— were persuaded by Mr. B——, the gentleman on the staff alluded to, to entrust him with their child Maggie for a short time. They have since repeatedly asked for her custody, and have been refused. Mr. B—— declines to say where the child is.

2. Mrs. D—— had two children taken away by Mr. B——. She believes one is now in Canada; where the other is she knows not. Her applications for the children have been numerous, and all equally fruitless.

3. Another family, Mr. and Mrs. B——, living close to Mrs. D——, have also lost all traces of two children, one of whom was taken away by the aforesaid B—— on the pretext of buying her a pair of clogs. Neither of them have since been recovered.

There are numerous other cases which we could mention as being traceable to the zeal and energy of ragged-school teachers. It has been lately ascertained that no less than 250 of our Catholic children attend regularly in six of the Ragged Schools. The mission they have taken upon themselves is not confined to the imparting of hazy notions of Scripture history to the young, but of winning them over to the vague and misty creed they themselves profess by a systematic course of bribery of parents. This ceases when the child's attendance ceases; it is resumed when the attendances are resumed.

We have alluded to the success attending proselytism in the police-courts. The following letter in reference to a boy, Edward Conroy, from Mr. J. G. Parsons, clerk to the Salford School Board, to the Rev. Fr. Quick, dated February 13, 1885, needs no explanation or comment:—

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—

EDWARD CONROY.

This boy was brought up by the police a few days since for begging, and his case was considered on Friday night by the Industrial School Committee, who decided to recommend his re-committal to St. Joseph's Industrial School. The stipendiary magistrate was, however, opposed to this course, and on Saturday morning discharged the boy, with instructions that he should be taken to the Boys' Refuge, Strangeways, which was accordingly done. Mr. M—— said that, if from any cause he did not remain, the boy might be brought before him again.

This decision handed over a Catholic boy to a Protestant Home, in which the practice of his religion was denied him, in which he was forced to attend the prayers and services of the Protestant Church.

Another case illustrating the same scene of action, the police-court, is the following:—In this instance we will omit the surname, as the then prisoner is now in America, and is doing well: In August of 1886, Thomas L—— was under remand for assaulting his wife—the second time he had so offended. On the last occasion, if we remember rightly, he had been sentenced to six months. His wife was then in the workhouse with her daughter Maria. It came to the writer's knowledge that the girl had been taken by one of the police-court philanthropists to a Protestant Home. The mother was a Catholic, so was the father. We determined to see the father, if possible, before he was sentenced. We attended court the day his charge was heard, and to our amazement, and probably still more so to his, he was discharged. The prosecutrix was not present in support of the charge. She was on her way to Canada. On questioning the father, we found he was absolutely ignorant of what had been done with the girl Maria, and how the mother had obtained the funds for her journey to Canada. Further inquiries brought to light the fact that "benevolent Christians" had supplied the necessary funds, and that a benevolent court had committed a Catholic child, without the Catholic father's sanction or knowledge, to a Protestant industrial school. This child, we are glad to say, was later on rescued, and safely transferred to a Catholic industrial school.

We have written that these touters for souls are to be found in the prisons. We offer the following facts to prove our statement:—John Robert W—— was in Strangeways Prison in November, 1885. He had a boy in the Protestant Refuge at Strangeways. This son a grandmother was trying to get out. During the incarceration of John Robert W—— he received two or more visits from the managers of this Home, urging him to sign "a paper." This he refused to do, and on his release brought his son out of the Protestant institution.

We have, we think, illustrated the system and mode of procedure with facts which will bear close investigation. We could have extended the list very considerably, but we hope the few we have taken may be sufficient, both in number and in detail, to prove the statements we have made.

Allusion has been made to emigration. It has been shown that the "agreement" contains a clause which gives consent to the child going out of the country. Of the use made of this clause, and of emigration in general, the following statistics,

taken from Paton's "Handy Guide to Emigration" (1886), will furnish some idea:—In London, 996 boys and girls were emigrated in 1885 from eight institutions; in the country, 268 boys and girls from six institutions; and in Scotland, 339 from one institution. A total of 1,603 emigrated in 1885 from fifteen non-Catholic institutions. How many of these children were Catholics? Mr. R. Yates, of Liverpool, secretary to the Catholic Children's Protection Society, in a letter to the writer dated November 5, 1886, does not hesitate to say that, out of 1,040 children emigrated by the Liverpool line of steamers in 1886, it is to be feared that any way half of all that go are Catholics, both because of the poverty of the Catholics, and that religious zeal is a large factor in the work.

Mr. Doyle, in his Report to the Local Government Board on the emigration of pauper children to Canada (1875), speaks thus of the consent obtained from the legal guardians of the children of the "arab" class:—

This, I apprehend, will be found to be done in a very loose and informal way. The precaution is not adopted of requiring the consent of the children themselves to be given before two magistrates, as in the case of pauper children. One girl of about seventeen, whose thoughts seemed to be ever turned homewards, assured me that though she was persuaded by her aunt to come out, yet if she had been brought before two magistrates (as pauper children are) she would have refused. I met with several cases of children sent out as "orphans" who had one, if not both, parents living (p. 7).

Writing of the Homes provided for the children "as places of refuge in any time of trouble or distress," Mr. Doyle writes (p. 17):

The managers of them profess, indeed, to encourage the children to look to the Homes as places of refuge in any time of trouble or distress. I cannot say that I think they have been successful in creating such a feeling of confidence. Over and over again I have been told of the dread of children to go back to the Home, and employers have observed to me that, as a last resource, when all other means have failed, they had to "threaten to send them back to the Home."

The following extract from a lecture on proselytism, given on December 12, 1882, in Glasgow, by the Rev. A. Munroe, D.D., will throw some fresh light upon the trustworthiness of the letters received from the "grateful little ones":—

Six years ago, a woman, who had spent her all in maintaining and nursing her husband, was, on his death, left in utter destitution. She had three children, the eldest of whom was twelve, the youngest nine years of age. Hopeless and helpless, she was induced to give up

the children to Mr. Quarrier. She signed the usual paper, and in due time the children were all sent off to Canada. Often since then did the mother seek to have letters from her children, but for years without avail. Full of remorse for the fatal step she had taken, she tried to get into communication with the children in the hope of somehow being able to recover them. . . . At last, about four months ago, after threatening Mr. Quarrier that she would appeal to the law, . . . a letter was handed to her, and, beginning "My dear Mother," her daughter's Christian name was at the end. . . . It was well written in a lady-like hand, quite grammatical, and full of praise of the country, the people, the homes, and everything in Canada. On being shown the letter, I told the woman that I did not like either its appearance or the tone in which it was written, and instructed her to return to Mr. Quarrier along with her husband (her second) . . . to insist upon getting another letter from her daughter. . . . Another letter came, commencing and ending like the first. But how different were the tone, the expression, and the handwriting! The writer had not seen her brother or sister for over two years, and knew nothing of their place of residence. The letter was written in a very poor hand, and free from that fulsome praise of everything which had excited my suspicions as to the genuineness of the signature in the first. The girl, even in writing to her mother, required to speak with caution. . . . Yet even so, these significant words break out from the full heart of the child, "Oh, mother, I wish I had never come to Canada!"

How many of these letters which yearly embellish the Report sheets of emigration societies are written under circumstances far different from those so glowingly described therein. Here is an extract from one, taken from a Report published this year. The writer, an orphan boy in the third school, who had, at the time of writing, been in Canada barely a twelvemonth, writes :

We had a splendid time of it on board, and plenty of good food. We had some prayer-meetings, and the people came around to hear about God and His works, and how He had put it in your kind heart to take so many fatherless and motherless boys into your home at Hackney, and after a stay there, to fit them up with clothes and food for Canada.

Here is another from an orphan boy :

I have joined the Methodist Church, and by God's grace I intend to do my duty as I ought. I desire a deep interest in your prayers, for there are many temptations lying around my path.

The following sentence seems to read more easily :—"I am drawing wood to the city of Guelph most of my time just now, and it is a pretty cold job sometimes ; it is eight miles from here."

The following is from a boy of thirteen :—

I can drive horses and milk cows. . . . I was glad to read about George Clarke labouring among the Chinese, where Jesus was never heard of before. . . . I am thankful to you for taking me to your Home in H—; when before you took me in, I was starving half the time, but when you took me I had all I could eat and drink, and a good bed to lie on.

In spite of these flourishing Reports of great moral transformations of character, it is an open secret that the Local Government Board are dissatisfied with the voluntary system of emigration as now carried on. They still complain that the inspection is wanting in frequency and efficiency; and if, as it would indeed seem, no improvement has been made in this direction since Mr. Doyle sent in his Report as to the emigration of pauper children to Canada, there are good and substantial grounds for complaint.

We have but little space left us to refer to the losses of our children outside the sphere of our immediate experience. A few brief words will, however, suffice to put our readers in possession of evidence sufficient to convince them that the workers in this hateful and abominable traffic are nowhere idle. In Ireland their whole system has lately been vigorously and effectively exposed in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*. The thirty-seventh Report of the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics contains abundant proof of the proselytizing spirit of the workers. As is ever the custom, they are busy among the poor; the souls of the rich come not within their scope. There, money is useless and powerless. We learn from this Report that in the seventeen schools in Dublin and Kingstown, there are 493 Catholic children out of a total of 1,203, that their night-schools have 284 of our children, and that the rural schools, twenty-five in number, have 196 out of a total of 727. It is no matter of surprise to us that of their total income—£20,682 for 1885—only £2,407 was raised in Ireland; still less that the large balance comes mainly from England. We do hope, for the honour and good name of our fellow-countrymen, now that they know the use to which these funds are being put, they will endeavour—and they should have little difficulty in succeeding—to find worthier objects for their philanthropy.

To our Irish fellow-Catholics of Dublin we offer our hearty congratulations on the noble and self-sacrificing spirit they have shown in founding the society known as the City Children's Commission, and on the able and zealous way they have set to work to counteract the efforts of the proselytizers. This we can personally testify to, having had the pleasure and advan-



tage of assisting at one of their quarterly meetings, and thus being enabled to gauge the results achieved.

We need only refer to Glasgow to find that the Catholic children of Scotland are in as great danger to their Faith as those of our own cities. "The Orphan Homes of Scotland," comprising some twenty-five buildings—non-inclusive of a City Home, the Working Boys' Home, the Children's Night Refuge; with an average annual income of £16,000, provide accommodation for close upon 1,000 boys and girls. They are under the superintendence of Mr. Quarrier, who emigrated last year 339 children. The Very Rev. Provost Munroe, D.D., in the pamphlet we have already quoted from, mentions that "in the year 1876 Mr. Quarrier gave a soirée in the hall of his home to 420 children. On that occasion clerks or agents noted down the name and age of every child on entering the hall, as declared by the children themselves; of these 420 children, 176 declared themselves to be Roman Catholics." In a letter to the writer dated November 7, 1886, the Very Rev. Provost says:

The proselytizing agencies are still growing in numbers, in energy, and in resources. They conduct their work still on the same lines as before, with this little difference, that occasionally a Catholic parent is told to apply to the priest to take the children, but to return should he not do so. . . . To recruit the Homes, destitute parents present themselves with their children in large numbers. Debauchery, improvidence, drunkenness, and adultery fill them up still more extensively. Then there are many willing agents co-operating, whose zeal is stimulated by the thought that the Homes are rescuing souls from the thralldom of Popery. Among those is the large class of female Bible-readers, missionaries of all the different sects, lady visitors, &c. &c.; these all find frequent opportunities of sending or recommending Catholic waifs to the Homes.

And here we must bring our evidence to a close, and leave our case—the case of the Lost, Strayed, and Stolen of the Poor Catholic Children—to the generous and sympathetic reflection and action of our readers.

We had three main objects in undertaking this article—two of which we hope we have attained—first, that of putting before them the ever-increasing numbers of our Catholic children who have escaped and are daily escaping our care and protection; secondly, the great and fearful success attendant upon the efforts of those who make it their whole and sole business of life to bring under their cruel and horrible influence the little ones we have allowed to drift away from us. For years and years this proselytizing propaganda has flourished, and the waifs and strays of ten and twelve years ago are now the fathers and mothers of children who should belong to us. Their numbers increase daily,

and the waifs and strays of to-day will, in their turn, rear and educate a family in a faith alien and antagonistic to that in which they themselves were baptized.

It would seem that we have grown slothfully callous to this state of things; that we have looked upon it as an evil beyond our powers of checking; that our hands are full, our resources insufficient to grapple with it. Our action for the last ten or twenty years has certainly been in accordance with this opinion. We have waxed eloquent and wrathful at times against the proselytizers, but neither our eloquence nor our wrath has helped to save a single soul from their clutches.

Face it we must, unless we are prepared to be the accomplices of those now waging this hateful war against our children. The cause needs no appeal; the horrid facts should be sufficient to rouse our energies, awaken our sympathies. We have to reproach ourselves with the loss of thousands and thousands of our children, hundreds of whom we could have saved had we possessed an organization capable of concerted action.

Our third and last object is to urge the Catholic body of this country to take this question up, to sift it thoroughly, to put on foot an organization which will be able, in some measure, to check and remedy the evil which is destroying so many of our little ones. No nobler cause exists, none more imperative, than that of helping, protecting, and rescuing the lost, strayed, and stolen of our Catholic poor children, who, ever powerless to help themselves, are left to seek protection, help, and comfort from the hands of those whose motto is, "Your soul first, bread and raiment afterwards."

AUSTIN OATES.



## Science Notices.

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**Ten Years' Progress in Astronomy.**—Professor Young, the eminent astronomer, has just delivered a masterly lecture on the above subject before the New York Academy of Science. The record is not a brilliant one, but advance has been made of a solid although slow description. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the decade was the discovery of oxygen in the sun by Dr. Draper, of New York. The researches were most laborious and expensive, and the difficulty was increased by the element exhibiting itself in bright lines on a bright background. It was only natural that astronomers should show some hesitation in accepting an observation which implied much discrimination and a reversal of previously accepted theories. But Dr. Draper has gained the day, and has cleared up the difficulty that had hitherto appeared so anomalous, that the most abundant element of our globe should be unrepresented in the sun.

Mr. Lockyer's studies of the solar spectrum led him to propound his theory that many of the so-called elements in chemistry are not so in point of fact, but are dissociated in the fiery crucible of the sun. He found certain lines in the spectrum common to two or more metals; he was therefore led to conclude that these lines represented the elementary substance which was the *base* of the composition of these metals. He proposed for them the name of *basic lines*. In the meantime, the new diffraction spectrum had been carried to an extraordinary degree of perfection in America, with the result that the *basic lines*, which were supposed to represent an element, are now discovered to be groups of lines lying very closely together.

The corona of the sun has been most carefully studied during the late eclipses, and astronomers seemed to be agreed that it is no optical delusion, no conglomeration of meteorites, but a real solar appendage; an intensely luminous, but excessively attenuated cloud of mingled gas, fog, and dust surrounding the sun, formed and shaped by solar forces. It would appear that the corona is subject to great variations in shape and brilliancy, but we are unable to guess even what can be the cause of such variations.

Much discussion was aroused about the beginning of the decade as to the probable effect of the sun spots maxima and minima on the weather. A large number of observations have been made, especially in Germany, but we are not in a position to assert that any certain relation has yet been discovered. It will be safe to conclude that the solar disturbances exert a faint, but very faint, influence on terrestrial meteorology.

Before leaving the sun, we must refer to Professor Langley's invention of the bolometer, an instrument devised to register degrees of heat hitherto inappreciable. He has founded it on the well-known fact that metals, when heated, lose their power of conducting electricity. In the bolometer, a very fine slip of platinum wire is used,

and the most minute variations in temperature affect the currents of electricity as they pass along the wire, and the galvanometer is quick enough to announce the change. Professor Langley had the incredible energy and skill to transport his instruments to the summit of Mount Whitney, nearly 15,000 feet above the sea, there to pursue his researches in a pure, dry atmosphere, where terrestrial disturbances are reduced to a minimum. He obtained some wonderful results from his new instrument in his investigations into solar heat. Among other things, he has discovered that were the screen of the earth's atmosphere removed, and were we allowed to gaze on the unveiled surface, the colour of the sun would be found to be *blue*.

The honours in astronomy of late years have been taken mostly by Americans. Another great discovery which will make the past decade memorable was that of the two moons or satellites of Mars. This achievement fell to the telescope of Professor Hall, of Washington, and must be reckoned as one of the most brilliant discoveries of the day. The bodies themselves are the faintest specks of light, and can only be picked up by the keenest eyes with long telescopes. They are interesting, however, from more than one point of view. They bring strong confirmation to the very striking theory of Professor C. Darwin on Tidal Evolution.

**Ancient Chronologies and Primitive Man.**—Among the burning questions of the hour must be ranked the date of the appearance of man upon this planet. Many modern geologists, judging from the position of human remains in the caves and drifts, give primitive man an excessive antiquity. Lyell thinks 100,000 years the very least that can be given, while others maintain 250,000 to be the more likely figure. It is, of course, admitted that the chronologies as given in Genesis are liable to a good deal of uncertainty. The Hebrew and Septuagint differ very considerably in their figures. The Hebrew gives 2,023 years between Adam and the call of Abraham; for the same period the Septuagint has 3,389 years. Among the professed ecclesiastical chronologists there is a great divergence of opinion on this question. The age of the world is given in varying dates from 3,000 to 8,000 years. Beyond the latter figures no important Christian apologist has ventured to go. We cannot give very much weight to the evidence of geology. Geology can tell us of *succession* of different phenomena that have occurred on our globe, but the intervals that may have separated successions it does not and cannot have any means of verifying. The best geologists are ready to admit that to assign dates to any prehistoric fact is mere guesswork.

**The Antiquity of Man from Ancient Monuments.**—The Abbé Vigouroux, in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, has devoted a careful study to the latest discoveries in the ancient monuments of Egypt, Assyria, and India. The early Jesuit missionaries in China were early impressed with the very complete succession of emperors, dating back to the most remote times. They communicated their doubts and fears to their brethren in Europe, and the matter gave rise to some very lively discussion in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Chinese themselves claim some 2,000,000 years as the age of their empire. It is perfectly easy to show that their own historical monuments will not warrant these figures. The most reliable Sinologists vary somewhat in the estimate of the date of the beginning of Chinese history. Father Martini places it about 3,000 years before Christ; Father Gaubil, 3,500 B.C.; Mr. Legge, about 2,367 B.C. One rather fatal objection to the Chinese documents is, that in the year 213 B.C. Prince Chi-hoang-ti ordered all the historical books to be burned, under pain of death in case of refusal. One thing, however, is certain, that the Chinese lists give no countenance to the extravagant age claimed for primitive man.

**Egypt.**—The Egyptian chronologies seemed at one time to be full of promise, several lists of the famous thirty dynasties have come down to us, but they are all incomplete. The records tell us the length of reign of each king, but they omit to state whether two kings were associated in the kingdom, or whether they occupied independent thrones. Now, we know from other sources that such arrangements were common enough in Egypt, but the documents give us no indication of such events. They, therefore, become useless for the purposes of exact chronology.

**Assyria.**—The Assyrians were the only people of antiquity who had an exact method of registering dates. The cuneiform inscriptions that have of late been dug up from the ruins of their cities furnish us with the most exact and precise details of their past history. Their chronology was not reckoned, like that of Egypt and China, by the reigns of the kings, but by the names of certain officials called *limmi*, elected each year, who gave their name to the year, like the consuls of Rome. We have only to regret that so few of these inscriptions have been found, as they throw the most unexpected light, not only upon secular, but also upon sacred history. The most ancient date given is that of the carrying off of an idol in the 2,274th year before our era. A cylinder of Nabonides, king of Babylon, discovered by Mr. Rassam, and now in the British Museum, gives a still more ancient date, if we are prepared to accept it. We read that Naramsin built a temple to the Sun in the 3,750th year before our era. If we admit these figures, the Biblical chronology after the Deluge will be insufficient; for it will place the Deluge, which was perfectly well known to the Babylonians as to the Hebrews, more than 4,000 years before Christ, a date which even the widest margin of the Septuagint will not embrace. The Abbé Vigouroux concludes his exhaustive summary in these words to the savants and historians: "Establish on good grounds the antiquity of man, and the Bible will not contradict you. The Church wishes you to understand that she leaves the question open to discussion, provided you keep within the limits of a sober criticism."

**Discovery of Prehistoric Remains.**—At the Congress at Namur last August, two young anthropologists, MM. Marcel de Puydt and Lohest, made a communication of an important discovery they had made near Spy, on the Sambre. The scene of their find was the cave of Biche aux Roches. They first came upon a layer of boulder

clay, about four feet in thickness, in which a human skull of recent date was found. The next was a calcareous tufa, about two feet thick, containing numerous remains of *Elephas primigenius* and of *Cervus Canadensis*. Mixed with these were flint implements in abundance, all the work of man. Layer No. 3 contained also remains of the ancient mammals, and was also rich in products of human industry. The great find occurred in layer No. 4, where, about sixteen feet from the entrance of the grotto, lay two human skeletons. They had evidently been buried, for the bones, although crushed by the overlying mass, still preserved their natural position. One of the skeletons is evidently that of an old woman, the other of a young man. The skulls have a close resemblance to the Neanderthal specimen, and show that the very low type indicated by this famous skull was not that of some inferior individual, but represents a race that had already obtained some footing in Europe. The Marquis de Nadaillac thinks that these characteristics do not point to a low type of humanity. We cannot but differ from him. The Neanderthal skull is generally considered the most ape-like cranium yet discovered. It was hoped that this skull might turn out to be an exceptionally misshapen one—that of an idiot in fact. We fear that the present discovery has destroyed these hopes, and will form a subject of rejoicing to the evolutionists.

#### A NEW MAGAZINE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

**Political Science Quarterly.** Boston: Ginn & Co. Nos. 1 and 2, March and June, 1886.—This new American quarterly, which is edited by the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia College, has certainly made an excellent beginning. The programme of the magazine is to provide a field for the *scientific* discussion of political, economic, and legal questions; and there are the two excellent provisions that every article must be signed, and that every writer who alleges facts not commonly known must cite his evidence. A certain proportion of the articles are on purely American subjects; but even these ought to be welcome to the many English readers who take an interest in the constitution and laws of the great republic. And there is no want of articles of general interest. Thus in the first number Professor Munroe Smith gives an excellent introduction entitled—

**The Domain of Political Science.**—It is like passing from a London fog into the clear air of New England to read this lucid article, after the confused discussions on "political economy," "the science of statistics," or "comparative jurisprudence," to which we are accustomed at home. And although he does not quite see as yet that politics and economics are merely particular parts of ethics, still he makes a great advance towards that position, and treats with the evil traditions of two centuries when he says: "All the social relations with which politics, law and economics have to do, lie within the domain of ethics. Duty, loyalty, honesty, charity—

these ideas are forces that underlie and support the State; that give to law its most effective sanction; that cross and modify the egoistic struggle for gain" (p. 4).

In the same number there is an interesting and acute article by Dr. De Leon, entitled "The Conference at Berlin on the West African Question," which can be recommended to all students of international law and diplomacy; while in the second number the "Constitutional Crisis in Norway" is shown in all its gravity, and ought to be no matter of indifference to English politicians. But I think the article headed

**The Christian Socialists**, by Dr. Seligman, will attract most readers in England, for it treats a neglected and interesting chapter in our own social and literary history. It begins by describing the works and failure of the precursor Owen, and the co-operative movement (or rather mania) that culminated in 1830, when there were over 500 co-operative associations and numerous newspapers devoted to the cause. Then we are introduced to the Christian socialistic movement that was called forth by the desperate state of the working classes towards the middle of the century. The two leaders were both clergymen of the Church of England: the elder was Frederick Denison Maurice; the younger, Charles Kingsley. They set to work with a will, and their noble contest against the despotism of a selfish plutocracy and an insolent pseudo-science, styled political economy, that was the apologist of infamies that cannot be written, and miseries that cannot be described—their speeches, agitation, writings, their defence of the Chartists, and their keeping these Chartists back from the use of physical force, the violent abuse heaped upon them by the organs of British respectability, the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Review*; all this told us in an attractive way by Dr. Seligman, who is full of sympathy for the two heroes and their allies. He does not indeed tell us that the movement collapsed because, while it was essentially a religious movement, it rested on the rotten foundation of false doctrine. The denial of original sin, the disdain of dogma, a "broad and human" conception of religion, which the writer seems to share with Kingsley and Maurice, are fatal errors: there can be no genuine social reform when human nature is so misunderstood, and when man is put first and God second. Still, the article is extremely interesting and instructive; and the excellent plan is adopted of adding at the end the literature of the subject—a list of books, tracts, and articles, extending over four pages.

Let me add that each number of the *Political Science Quarterly* contains short reviews of about six or seven new books; and the reviews, no less than the articles, are signed. In conclusion, though there is no appearance that any Catholic has had any hand in either number of this new quarterly, still, if it keeps true to its programme, it will do us good service by attacking many errors in politics and economics that are still common; for every such error sooner or later does us injury

C. S. DEVAS.



## MEETING OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION, 1886.\*

THE meeting of the British Association, which took place in Birmingham in the first week of September, was interesting for more than one reason, although many of our prominent men of science were absent. It afforded an opportunity of welcoming scientific visitors from the Colonies, and the choice of Sir William Dawson, one of the most eminent Transatlantic geologists, as president, was a graceful compliment to Canada. Important papers were read in some of the sections, and discussions of no less importance took place in some cases. We will touch upon the principal points deserving of attention.

**Sir William Dawson's Inaugural Address** is allowed generally to have been a success from a popular point of view, though it has been criticised from a scientific standpoint, as being too loose and popular in its geology. We may remark upon this that, as to the first epithet, criticism of this kind is itself too loose to deal with; and as to the second, that it is a merit and not a defect in a presidential address, as those who remember the elaborate mathematical address of Professor Cayley, a few years ago, scarcely intelligible to the bulk of his audience, will fully testify. Sir William Dawson's address was noteworthy in this respect, that, though he was opening a great scientific meeting, he did not shrink from speaking of God our Creator, and in the peroration of his long and learned essay on the Atlantic Ocean—for such was his subject, and a very appropriate one from a great Canadian—he took the opportunity of comparing the great ocean, in the way in which it cherishes the life of even its smallest inhabitants, to the far greater Being to Whom all things owe their existence. We venture to quote one or two sentences:—

We cannot, I think, consider the topics to which I have referred without perceiving that the history of ocean and continent is an example of progressive design, quite as much as that of living beings. [And again]:—The vastness and the might of ocean, and the manner in which it cherishes the feeblest and most fragile beings, alike speak to us of Him who holds it in the hollow of His hand, and gave it of old its boundaries and its laws; but its teaching ascends to a higher tone, when we consider its origin and history, and the manner in which it has been made to build up continents and mountain-chains, and at the same time to nourish and sustain the teeming life of sea and land.

This last being the closing sentence of the address. The applause with which Sir William Dawson's expressions were received showed that there were many sympathetic minds amongst his audience; but most of our great Agnostic thinkers were not present, whether designedly or accidentally we do not know. The way, too, in which the President spoke of the Darwinian theory of evolution was far different from that in which it has sometimes been treated. Thus:—

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\* This report, written and in type for the October number, had at the last moment to be omitted, with much other matter. It is now inserted, as retaining its interest.

In entering on such questions, we should proceed with caution and reverence, feeling that we are on holy ground, and that though, like Moses of old, we may be armed with all the learning of our time, we are in the presence of that which, while it burns, is not consumed; of a mystery which neither observation, experiment, nor induction can ever fully solve.

As regards the scientific questions he touches upon, Sir William Dawson is inclined to admit the probability of the opinion now generally held by astronomers, that the interior of the earth, as distinguished from the plastic sub-crust—"its nucleus, as we may call it"—is solid, hard, and dense. He also holds that no change, excepting to a limited extent, has taken place in the position of the earth's axis of rotation; the arrangement of the older rocks around the Arctic basin being the ground of this conclusion.

Then as to the important question of the causes which have produced the vast changes of climate that the Atlantic area and the Continent of Europe have certainly undergone, he inclines to the opinion that they are chiefly, though not entirely, to be attributed to geographical changes. This subject is interesting, as we shall presently see, from its connection with the antiquity of the human race, and we shall again quote a few paragraphs from the address. He says:—

No geological facts are, indeed, at first sight more strange and inexplicable than the changes of climate in the Atlantic area, even in comparatively modern periods. We know that in the early Tertiary perpetual summer reigned as far north as the middle of Greenland, and that in the Pleistocene the Arctic cold advanced until an almost perennial winter prevailed half-way to the equator. It is no wonder that nearly every cause available in the heavens and the earth has been invoked to account for these astounding facts.

It appears that six theories have been put forward on this point besides the one that Sir William Dawson himself favours, of which the most plausible and the most widely accepted is that of Mr. Croll, which attributes the alterations of climate to that movement of the earth's axis which causes the precession of the equinoxes, combined with the greater variations in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit; so that whenever the eccentricity of the orbit is at its maximum, that hemisphere which has its winter in *aphelion* would undergo a glacial period. We may observe, by the way, that no such condition exists at present, for the eccentricity is now comparatively small, and is gradually becoming less and less. Now, Sir William Dawson, while allowing all this as a subordinate cause, is of opinion that it is to that great equatorial current, known to us as the Gulf Stream, that we must look as the main factor of great changes of climate in the North Atlantic and in Europe and North America.

Let us suppose that a subsidence of land in tropical America were to allow the equatorial current to pass through into the Pacific. The effect would at once be to reduce the temperature of Norway and Britain to that of Greenland and Labrador at present, while the latter countries would themselves become colder. Then glaciers would be established on all the mountains of temperate Europe and America; the summer would be kept cold by melting ice and snow. He adds: This would be simply a

return of the glacial age. We may suppose an opposite case. The high plateau of Greenland might subside or be reduced in height, and the openings of Baffin's Bay and the North Atlantic might be closed. At the same time the interior plain of America might be depressed, so that, as we know to have been the case in the Cretaceous period, the warm waters of the Mexican Gulf would circulate as far north as the basins of the present American Lakes. . . . The effects would be to enable a temperate flora to subsist in Greenland, and to bring all the present temperate regions of Europe and America into a condition of subtropical verdure.

Those who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with this subject should read Sir William Dawson's remarks *in extenso*. Further on, we learn something of the wide distribution and notable permanence of "our familiar friend the oyster." These creatures first appear in the carboniferous strata of Belgium and the United States of America; here they are few and small, but they culminate in the Cretaceous age. Sir William Dawson has found fossil oysters in Western Canada, in England, in the Alps, in Egypt, in Judea, on the heights of Lebanon: the species being different, yet very similar. The oyster is merely an example of many forms. These considerations "show that the forms of living things are more stable than the lands and seas in which they live." He seems to think the oyster may be a hard nut for evolutionists to crack—a point upon which we pronounce no opinion.

On the question of the geological permanence of the Atlantic Ocean, he is disposed to think that, as it probably existed in somewhat similar conditions in the very early ages of the earth's history, so it will remain as it is for ages to come; but he says the subject is "too much involved in uncertainty to warrant us in following it further."

**Chemical Elements and "Protyle."**—Among the addresses of the Presidents of Sections, one that attracted notice from men of science was that of Mr. Crookes in the Chemical Section.

For the most part highly technical, it requires a thorough knowledge of chemistry to follow the thread of its argument properly. But we may briefly say that Mr. Crookes suggests a hypothesis that all the chemical elements, as we now know them, were perhaps evolved from some original primal matter which he calls *protyle* ["from  $\pi\rho\omicron$  (earlier than) and  $\iota\lambda\eta$  (the stuff of which things are made)"]; he supposes the very beginnings of time, "before the earth was thrown off from the central nucleus of molten fluid, before even the Sun himself had consolidated from the original *protyle*." He imagines "an ultra-gaseous state," "a temperature inconceivably hotter than anything now existing in the visible universe." Then, as the temperature of the cosmic *protyle* was gradually reduced, what we now call elements came into existence, one after another—first hydrogen, or perhaps helium, then other less simple elements. He observes, however, that "this building up, or evolution, is above all things not fortuitous; the variation and development which we recognize in the universe run along certain fixed lines which have been preconceived and foreordained. To the careless and hasty eye

design and evolution seem antagonistic ; the more careful inquirer sees that evolution, steadily proceeding along an ascending scale of excellence, is the strongest argument in favour of a preconceived plan." In another place, he makes this noteworthy remark :—"The epoch of elemental development is decidedly over, and I may observe that, in the opinion of not a few biologists, the epoch of organic development is verging upon its close." This was truly a thought-stirring address, and will doubtless give rise to much discussion hereafter.

**Mr. G. Darwin on the Limits of Geological Time.**—In the Department of Mathematical and Physical Science, Mr. George Darwin, one of the sons of the celebrated naturalist, occupied the chair, and delivered an address which deserves great consideration. It is an inquiry how far astronomy and physics generally are or are not at variance with geology, as to the date of existence of organic life on the earth's surface. He says :—

Great as have been the advances of geology during the present century, we have no precise knowledge of one of its fundamental units. The scale of time on which we must suppose geological history to be drawn is important, not only for geology itself, but it has an intimate relation with some of the profoundest questions of biology, physics, and cosmogony.

It appears that the late Professor Phillips, judging from the evidence of strata alone, estimated the antiquity of life upon the earth as being possibly between thirty-eight and ninety-six millions of years [a tolerably wide margin]. Mr. Darwin proceeded to discuss the theory of Mr. Croll—to which we have alluded already in our remarks on Sir W. Dawson's address—and after observing that, if true, it would throw a light on geological time, he gave reasons for considering it very doubtful. He then went on to deal with Sir William Thomson's arguments for the limitation of the vast periods of time supposed by certain geologists to have elapsed. As the result of Sir W. Thomson's teaching,

it is now generally believed that we must look for a greater intensity of geologic action in the remote past, and that the duration of the geologic ages, however little we may be able mentally to grasp their greatness, must bear about the same relation to the numbers which were written down in the older treatises on geology, as the life of an ordinary man does to the age of Methusaleh.

And yet Mr. George Darwin is far from agreeing fully with Sir W. Thomson, whom, however, he calls his great master, and of whom he speaks with profound respect. He explains Sir William's three principal arguments for limiting geological time :—First, the gradual retardation of the earth's rotation on its axis by tidal friction, from which it is inferred that the consolidation of the earth took place much more recently than 1000 millions of years ago ; and he gives his reasons for differing from the conclusions sought to be drawn. Secondly, the secular cooling of the earth ; and here, while he admits the great force of Sir William's argument, he states that there are some elements of uncertainty which greatly modify his

acceptance of it. Still less can he follow Professor Tait, who cuts down the limit of time since the cooling of the earth to 10,000,000 years. The third argument, which Mr. Darwin thinks by far the strongest, "depends on the amount of radial energy which can have been given out by the sun," supposed to have been concentrated (in the distant past) from a condition of infinite dispersion. Sir William Thomson has calculated that probably the sun has not illuminated the earth for 100 millions of years—almost certainly not for 500 millions of years; yet even here he shows there is some uncertainty. On the whole, however, he says we are justified in following Sir William Thomson as far as this conclusion, arrived at by him, "the existing state of things on the earth, life on the earth, all geological history, showing continuity of life, must be limited within some such period of past time as 100,000,000 years." We suspect that the figure last cited does not represent Sir William's final and matured opinion; for if it did, few modern geologists would complain of such a limit.

It was a matter of general regret that Sir W. Thomson was not present on this occasion to defend his position. Moreover, we could not help feeling somewhat disappointed that Sir Robert Ball (Astronomer Royal of Ireland), who *was* present, did not use the opportunity of saying a few words in support of his own opinion on one portion of the above-mentioned subject—as stated in his *brochure* entitled "A Glimpse through the Corridors of Time."

There were other Presidential addresses, involving various matters of interest, but our space does not allow us to dwell upon them. There were also important papers read, followed by discussions, in some of the sections.

In the Geological Section it was stated that a flint implement had been found in North Wales (appositely enough in Flintshire) embedded in a stratum evidently deposited before the last glacial period. This was relied upon as indicating the existence of man in Britain at that remote age; 100,000 years are imagined to have elapsed since the termination of the last glacial epoch, but it is to be remembered, in connection with what has already been stated with reference to Mr. Croll's theory, that the date of the glacial periods is involved in considerable doubt, so that, granting all that is alleged with regard to the flint implement, we must still remain uncertain how far it carries us back in point of time.

A paper was read in the Biological Section by Mr. Seebohm, controverting the views lately put forth by Mr. Romanes on the subject of physiological selection, and a discussion ensued. Mr. Romanes himself (as was the case with so many other leading biologists) was absent, and consequently unable to speak for himself. We think we are correct in stating that the general opinion was unfavourable to his theory. An additional weight was perhaps thrown into the scale of adverse opinion by an article from the pen of Mr. Wallace, which had just appeared in the September number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Mr. Wallace, as is well known, was one of the principal founders of the theory of Natural Selection, and

he is not disposed to surrender it even to the limited extent required by Mr. Romanes. One can scarcely help smiling at the style of argument sometimes used in defending the Darwinian theory; one of Mr. Romanes' difficulties is the "inutility of specific characters." Mr. Wallace is disposed to deny the fact, and seems to maintain that all such distinctive characters have some use; Mr. Darwin had allowed that the principle of protective colouring failed in the case of the rabbit, whose upturned white tail is conspicuous both to sportsmen and to beasts of prey. Mr. Wallace, however, replies that the white tail serves as a useful guide for one rabbit (and especially for the young) to follow another in a straight line to the burrow, when alarmed, in the dusk of the evening. On the general question at issue, we shrink from pronouncing an opinion; no one is qualified to do so without having a technical and experimental knowledge of biology. We incline, however, to think that the theory of Natural Selection has had a shake from which it will not recover. We will, however, hazard the following suggestion. If we consider that the idea of spontaneous generation (as it was once called), or abiogenesis, has been now exploded by the experiments of Pasteur and Tyndall, and that it is generally admitted that life never now arises excepting from previously living organisms, it is clear that there was once a time when a different law was in operation, and inorganic matter passed somehow into organic life. If this creative law (so to term it) once in force has now ceased to be so, probably other laws have also ceased to act, and the law which regulated the origin of species and of genera may now no longer exist. A remark (above mentioned) by Mr. Crookes points in this direction. If this be as we have suggested, it is in vain for biologists to attempt to explain by laws *now in operation* all the difficult problems presented by the facts of natural history, many of which carry us back to remote ages.

We should mention that an interesting communication was made to the Mathematical and Physical Section of the Association from the Grenada Eclipse Expedition, announcing that excellent photographs had been taken of the eclipse, and successful experiments made with the spectroscope.

In the non-scientific section of Economics and Statistics, Mr. Impey, the author of "Three Acres and a Cow," read a paper advocating his theory, and stating that it had been successfully reduced to practice, in the course of which he gave details. It should be explained that he does not demand necessarily that the occupier of the three acres should be the *proprietor*; but he does ask for the interference of the legislature to force landlords to *let* the land to occupiers of this class. A paper by Lady Verney, showing the miserable condition of many of the small proprietors on the Continent, especially in France, was read by her husband, Sir Harry Verney—this lady having the good taste to abstain from putting herself forward on the platform to read her paper, as some other ladies do. The Chairman (Mr. Biddulph Martin) remarked, with great judgment, that the matter could not be entirely settled either



by the bright picture drawn of his experiment by Mr. Impey, or by the deplorable state of the peasant proprietors in Auvergne and elsewhere depicted by Lady Verney, to which latter, however, he could bear testimony from his own observation. But we thought an important contribution to the discussion was made by a gentleman present, a landed proprietor, who said he himself had tried the experiment of letting small portions of land, sometimes as much as five acres, and the result had been general failure.

We can see no objection to experiments of this nature being made by those who can afford to make them, and, indeed, we highly approve the attempt; but, on the other hand, we do strongly deprecate anything like compulsory interference on the part of the State.

Other papers were read on co-operative farming and co-operative societies of workmen for manufacturing purposes, some of which are said to have been very successful.

The Association is to hold its meeting next year at Manchester, under the presidency of Sir Henry Roscoe, and we saw with pleasure that the Bishop of Salford is to be one of the vice-presidents.

F. R. W.-P.

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## *Notes of Travel and Exploration.*

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**Brazilian Travel.**—The interior of Brazil, Mr. Wells\* remarks, is less known than the interior of Africa. He has himself in his present work, done much to fill this gap in our knowledge, and his lively pages, with the dainty vignette illustrations that adorn them, make us tolerably familiar with the large section of the country traversed by him. We cannot say that the picture is an attractive one; nor does it give so large a promise of future capabilities of development as might have been looked for in this great intertropical region. Its general features are rolling downs with unproductive soil and sparse vegetation, intersected by heavily timbered river bottoms rendered unhealthy by malarious exhalations. The campos, or open scantily grassed plains, alternate with cerrado, a scrubby bush, which generally covers the crowns of the hills, while the course of the lesser watercourses may be traced in deep clefts on the wide plains and slopes. Agriculture is very backward, and little attempt seems to be made to increase the productiveness of the land. The fazendas, or farm-houses, are wretchedly comfortless structures, with walls that give free admittance to the chill damp of the night air, and roofs equally pervious to the

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\* "Three Thousand Miles through Brazil." By James W. Wells, F.R.G.S. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1886.



rain. The air of the campos is exhilarating, despite the clinging wet fog of the mornings ; but the river-valleys are hotbeds of fever and ague, the sufferings from which are vividly described by the author. He, with a number of other engineers, was engaged in a railway survey, necessitating the cutting of *picadas*, or straight lines of clearing through the forests, and on some sections a large number of the men died, and nearly all were invalidated from the effects of malaria. The insect plagues are numerous and varied, for, in addition to the pricking and stinging tormentors, light skirmishers of the air, there are the far more formidable burrowing species, the sappers and miners of the creeping army, who intrench themselves under the skin, and require to be dislodged by equally scientific methods very unpleasant for the patient.

**Social Aspect of Brazil.**—A great change in the condition of Brazil has been caused by the transference of all wealth and prosperity from the interior to the coast. The older settlements created by mining industry are dilapidated and deserted ; some towns, like Villa Rica, in Parana, once wealthy, as its name implies, are as ruinous as the prehistoric cities of Central America, and the massive fazenda buildings of the early colonists are abandoned to decay. The seaboard, including a belt of from 50 to 400 miles inland, produces, with the Valley of the Amazons, nearly all the exports of Brazil. Here foreign capital and immigration have vivified the country, while in the inland regions the few and scattered inhabitants live in a state of absolute apathy. To lie in a hammock, and drink *cachaça* (the native spirit) all day are their luxuries, active pursuits being undertaken only under pressure of necessity. The absence of a market for produce discourages agriculture, and the universal infusion of negro or Indian blood has enervated the European stock. The most flourishing industry is the cotton manufacture, and the sixty factories established during the last few years are all prosperous, causing a diminution of 8 per cent. in the imports and an increase of 10½ in the exports.

**Asiatic Trade through Canada.**—The *Times* of October 21 gives extracts from the *Montreal Herald* of October 8 showing how the Canadian Pacific Railway bids fair to monopolize the Chinese tea-trade with America. The pioneer vessel of this route had already delivered her cargo, and the latter had been distributed to the various points of supply, reaching Montreal and New York in forty-seven and forty-nine days respectively. The cars laden with tea for the United States are detached at the several junctions along the line and forwarded to their destination without breaking bulk. When the company's new steamers are running, the voyage between Vancouver and Yokohama will be made in twelve or thirteen days, a great saving of time over the present voyages between San Francisco and Japan. Four other tea-laden vessels were to follow, carrying an aggregate of 100,000 packages, valued at two million dollars. Mr. Frazar, whose firm has been established for twenty-seven years in China and Japan, considers the prospects of a rapid development of the Asiatic trade over the Canadian Pacific line as very hopeful, and speaks favourably of the dock and wharfage accommodation at Vancouver.

In addition to the tea-trade there is a large import of raw silk from Japan to the Eastern States, amounting to from 15,000 to 18,000 bales, valued at some ten millions of dollars. This trade, representing a freight charge of two million dollars, and steadily increasing, now comes by the Pacific Mail, and Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, but a considerable portion of it may be expected to be diverted to the Canadian Pacific in consequence of the greater rapidity of transit. A large proportion of the passenger traffic between Europe and the East will also, it is anticipated, prefer the Western route in order to escape the heat of the Red Sea and Suez Canal.

**A French Traveller in Merv.**—M. Gabriel Bonvalot, in a letter written from Samarcand to the *Journal des Débats*, describes his experiences in a recent visit to Merv. He made his way from India to Afghanistan without official permission, and thence onward to the great oasis of the Steppe. The town, hidden at first behind a screen of trees, presented a lively scene of animation after the stillness of the desert, as carriages as well as horse and foot passengers were moving about in all directions amid clouds of dust, and a number of workmen were employed in building a brick wall to surround the city.

The newly built Russian quarter had suffered from an inundation last May, whose effects were still visible in July in sheets of stagnant water surrounding the place, and in the general marshiness of the ground. The Russians had persisted in building on the left bank, despite the warnings of the natives and of Jew and Armenian residents; consequently, when the Murghab rose, all the newly erected buildings were swept away for a distance of 100 feet from its bed, while the right bank, being higher, escaped injury.

The new town consists of two parallel streets running east and west, the building of the southern street having been interrupted by the flood. The houses, built of brick, are generally only one story high; but larger dwellings are being erected to the west of the town. The population had risen to about 3,000, composed of Russian officers and *employés*, Armenian merchants, and workmen of various nationalities attracted by the railway.

The writer was present when the line from Kizil Arvat was opened on July 15 last, 557 kilomètres of railway having been constructed in thirteen months, in spite of the want of water, the sands, the torrid heat, the glacial cold, and the inundation of the Murghab, which delayed the works for a month.—*Times*, November 3, 1886.

**The Gate of the Caucasus.**—The *Moscow Gazette*, in an article on the city and port of Batoum, describes the sensation created some months ago by the announcement of its abolition as a free port by the Czar. Its growth since it acquired that status in 1878 has been immense, although the Turkish inhabitants then migrated *en masse* to Trebizond, leaving only a population of 3,000, since increased to 10,000. The Russian element is only a small minority, the Greeks preponderating, and the Armenians forming also a considerable section of the inhabitants. Batoum, from being a purely Asiatic town, has become *quasi*-European; and the central meeting-place for transacting

business is a café facing the sea, where none but Turkish affairs are discussed, where Turkish coffee is the only beverage drunk, and Turkish tobacco alone is smoked. The future of Batoum is assured both by the excellence of its harbour and the superiority of its geographical position. It is the best port of the Black Sea; it has a depth of water close to the shore of from 30 to 50 fathoms, and its anchorage would accommodate fifteen war-vessels, in addition to an indefinite number of merchantmen. It forms the outlet of a railway 800 versts in length, connecting two seas, and transporting goods, not only from Baku and Tiflis, but also from the Trans-Caspian territory. The Krasnovodsk-Merv Railway will supply it with large quantities of silk for transportation, and it already carries Persian wheat and Baku petroleum. A canal from the latter town is spoken of, and it is thought that the whole trade of the decaying town of Poti will pass to Batoum, which will offer greater inducements to settlers when its marshes have been drained.—*Times*, November 10, 1886.

**The French Colonies.**—In *La France Coloniale* much statistical information as to the French colonies and protectorates has recently been given by M. A. Rambaud. Their total area, including the protectorates of Tunis, Cambodia, Annam, Tonquin, Madagascar, and the Congo, is 1,900,000 square miles, or nearly six times that of France itself. The total population is about 28½ millions, including that of the Congo, for which there are no returns.

The trade with all the French colonies, exclusive of Algeria and Tunis, is estimated for the year 1883 at £19,200,000, which, with the addition of £16,000,000 for the former and £1,800,000 for the latter, gives a total of £37,000,000—about a tenth of the total trade of France. Of this total colonial trade about £22,000,000 is with the mother country—a larger trade than is done by France with any single country except England (£60,000,000), Belgium (£38,520,000), Germany (£31,480,000), and the United States (£28,120,000). Small as is the trade of the French colonies compared with that of the British, it is progressively increasing, that of Algeria, which in 1840 was but £900,000, having reached £16,000,000; and that of Senegal, in 1823 but £100,000, having by the latest statistics exceeded £1,300,000. The trade of Martinique has within forty years doubled its previous figure of £1,200,000, and that of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon has risen from £320,000 to £1,200,000, between 1858 and 1884. Out of 1,315,144 tons of shipping which entered and left the ports of these colonies in 1883, 1,235,392 tons, or over 95 per cent., were French.—*Times*, November 19, 1886.

**Father Damien and the Lepers.**—The latest news from Molokai is contained in *Les Missions Catholiques* of November 12, 1886, which publishes the following letter from Father Columban Beissel, written from the Sandwich Islands on the 29th of September previous:—

“Since my first visit to Molokai I have returned there almost every two months. Father Damien Devenster's health was then gravely attacked, and at each succeeding visit I noted fresh symptoms, and an

aggravation of the disease. The father, however, was not cast down. 'I am satisfied,' he declared to me, with admirable resignation, 'there is no longer any doubt as to my condition. I am a leper.'

"But on Monday, September 27, the time of my last visit, I found a great change. The patient, who had for two months been practising the treatment of a Japanese doctor, was sensibly better. He had ceased to suffer, appetite had returned, and sleep with it, and he was strong enough to visit his leper hospitals either on foot or on horseback.

"Another boon vouchsafed us by Providence! A young American has come to his assistance. He is a layman converted from Anglicanism, who, on the news of Father Damien's illness, resolved, in order to serve God, to consecrate his care and devotion to the missionary father and his sufferers."

The enthusiasm created, even amongst Protestants, by the self-immolation of this heroic priest is so great that an English clergyman has started a subscription as a testimonial to him, and a considerable sum has already been collected.

**A New Port on the Mediterranean.**—The French are about to develop the natural capabilities of Tunis by opening up the Lake of Bizerta, thirty miles distant from the city of Tunis, which may at a small outlay be made one of the largest harbours in the world. An area of 50 square miles of anchorage for the largest ships is here connected with the sea by a river five miles long, with a width of a mile, and a central depth of 4 to 6 fathoms. A little dredging at a few points of this channel is all that is required to make the anchorage available. Consul-General Playfair, in his report for the year 1885, after describing all the natural advantages of this "Tunisian Venice," gives the following picture of its scenery:—

The western bank is rather low, and covered to the water's edge with olive trees. The opposite shore slopes gradually up to a height of 200 feet in some places; it is well wooded and quite park-like in its appearance. It would form a splendid suburb for a great city, such as will, in all probability, be built here some day. The view from it, both of the salt and fresh water lakes, bounded in the distance by the remarkable mountain of Djebel Ishkul, suggested to my mind the Lake of Lucerne and the Bernese Oberland on a small scale.

Its strategical advantages are described in a letter of Admiral Spratt's, published in the *Times* of May 16, 1881:—

I fully confirm the fact of the Lake of Bizerta being easily made available for all the fleets of the world, or for any of them, and at a small cost, for I would risk my reputation on its being effected for less than a quarter of a million. All that is necessary is an excavation of about a quarter of a mile through the narrow strip of alluvial plain that separates the lake from the Bay of Bizerta, and some dredging for about the same length on each side of this narrow strip, so as to connect the deep water within the lake with the bay outside, and thus open it to the Mediterranean, by which means the largest ships of any navy and the fleets of the world could find accommodation and security within Bizerta Lake; and it would thus become the finest and most commodious harbour

in the Mediterranean. Situated as it is, at the threshold of the central strait of the Mediterranean, if possessed by France or by Italy it would become the most important strategic naval port within it, and completely command the communications between the eastern and western divisions. France, which now in Toulon is 400 miles distant upon one flank of that line, would thus be only four hours' steaming from it on the other flank, where not only could she have another naval arsenal, but a spacious and perfectly enclosed basin for the secret practice of torpedo fleets, gunnery exercise, and even some manœuvring with a few ships, and all in what would become a secret port.

**New Afghan Boundary.**—Captain Yate, in a recent letter to the *Pioneer* newspaper, points out that the new frontier secures to Russia a route of about 185 miles from Penjdeh to the Oxus, along a connected line of wells divided into ten stages. The road is passable throughout for camels, and specially adapted for them, as they require no grain, and there is plenty of grazing for them everywhere. Thus communication is easy and practicable across what was recently supposed to be sheer desert, connecting the two principal lines of Russian advance—that from the Caspian with that from Turkestan. The Boundary Commission have delimited and marked by pillars about 325 out of 350 miles of frontier, the only point left undecided being the actual spot where it shall strike the Oxus. When this question shall have been settled between the two Governments, the erection of pillars across the intervening tract of twenty-five or thirty miles will be easily accomplished. The Commission has, moreover, collected a great amount of valuable information about practically unknown regions likely to be of great use in any future operations in Afghanistan.—*Athenæum*, November 27, 1886.

**A Japanese Volcano.**—The *Times* of October 27 contains an interesting letter from a correspondent, describing Mount Asama-yama, the largest of the fifty-one active volcanoes of Japan, in whose heart, in native parlance, "a fire is always burning." Some twenty eruptions, the last, a trifling one, in 1870, have been recorded during a period of twelve centuries, but the most noteworthy began on June 25, 1783, reaching its climax only in the August following:—

In Tokio, eighty miles away, fine ashes fell to a depth of two inches. Whole valleys were filled with ejectamenta, rivers diverted, and villages, to the number of fifty-eight, buried or burnt; and pitchy darkness even at noonday, with lightning and frightful thunder, prevailed in the leeward districts, so that in places as many as forty miles distant "night and day were equally dark, and no one knew when it was daybreak." Sudden and terrible death came to hundreds of the peasantry, and upon the ruined survivors came soon afterwards the further horrors of starvation and riot. On the north side of the mountain a prodigious lava-stream descended for a distance of thirty-eight miles, the first thirty of which were accomplished in sixteen hours. Throes of earthquake constantly shook the land. Flights of huge stones, some of them from fifty feet to more than a hundred feet in diameter, were shot into the air and "dropped as abundantly as the leaves of trees." In Tokio, besides great darkness, there were great shaking and roaring, both of which were also experienced in provinces as much as 180 miles away.

This was the last of these great catastrophes, but the still steaming crater, and the old lava-stream, like "a huge black serpent" on the face of the mountain, serve to remind the spectator of its latent capabilities. The present crater, situated at a height of 8,500 feet above the sea, yawns to an unknown depth, with nearly vertical walls. Its aspect is thus described:—

The churning and groaning far below, the masses of fetid vapour ever being hurled up wrathfully from the gloomy and awful depths, and the riven, scorched, and honeycombed walls, exhaling clouds of suffocating steam from a thousand crevices and holes, readily suggest latent possibilities well calculated to appal the stoutest heart. Apparently the present crater is the youngest and innermost of three. Further down, on the south-west side, are to be seen, along with numerous fissures of unfathomable depth, remains which point to the existence of two former craters, concentric and of large dimensions, and separated from one another by a considerable interval. Possibly the existing cone may have been formed during the great eruption of 1783.

**The Panama Canal.**—The report of an engineer who recently visited the Isthmus of Panama is summed up in the journal of the Manchester Geographical Society for the second quarter of 1886. According to this account no trace of the excavations supposed to have been made for the Canal are visible for half the distance between Colon and Panama. Along the line he saw instead many overturned and rust-covered carriages, some of which were embedded in the soil, while quantities of rolling stock not yet put together were lying about in a state of ruin, owing to long exposure to wind, weather, and marsh-damp.

At Matachin, where it was supposed that the construction of the Canal was being pushed on with all speed, nothing was to be seen but abandoned excavations and upturned steam engines, the latter being apparently very common objects in the Isthmus. In a neighbouring jungle he found straight rows of saplings, three or four yards deep, extending for a length of 160 yards. On closer inspection he found that this symmetrical plantation had grown out of waggons filled with earth which had been left there a couple of years ago. The story is rather taller than the saplings, but it is put forward with an air of perfect seriousness. The aggregate plant of the company has cost eight millions sterling. Three fourths of it is said to be unfit for use, owing to the carelessness with which complicated machinery is left out in the open air, or at best packed up in skeleton cases. Of the twenty-one sections into which the future waterway has been divided, only five are in anything like an advanced condition. In three the ground has merely been scratched, and in thirteen it has been left alone altogether. He does not think much of the project to choke up the Chagres by means of a gigantic dam. He saw the river rise twelve metres in one night, and carry down quantities of soil held together by the roots of tropical plants, more than sufficient to fill up the proposed reservoir. On M. de Lesseps' own showing, his difficulties at this moment are very serious, apart altogether from his financial embarrassments. As an advocate of level canals he has always declared that no maritime canal depending on inland waters can be a success. In spite of that he cannot quite make up his mind whether the canal is to be taken right across the Isthmus at one uniform



level, or whether the rising ground of the Cordilleras is to be surmounted by locks. If the difficulty of the inland water supply could be got over, it would be much cheaper to make the Canal with locks rather than to cut it through on one level, but it would be far more expensive to work, and the delays would be endless. If enough money is not forthcoming to make the waterway according to the original plans, it is possible that a canal with locks may be resorted to; but if this prove to be the case it will be a considerable defeat for M. de Lesseps and a great misfortune to his shareholders.

In some of M. de Lesseps' most recent utterances about the Canal, he declared that it would be open, as originally announced, in 1889, and that it would not matter if the most difficult part of the work still remained to be done, as the prestige secured by the opening would attract fresh capital. From this remarkable pronouncement it may be inferred that an attempt will be made to push on the works through the marshes at both ends in order to have a sham inauguration of the unfinished waterway at the time originally named.

**The Plague of Yunnan.**—*Les Missions Catholiques* of November 19 and 26 contains an interesting account of the singular epidemic which has at intervals ravaged the Chinese province of Yunnan since the suppression of the Mohammedan rebellion in 1873. The most singular feature of this illness is that it first attacks the rats, who die in myriads before the human victims are assailed by it, and it is hence called the "disease of the rats." Its most distinctive peculiarity is the appearance of a small tumour, at first no larger than a pea, and increasing to that of a pigeon's egg, in some of the articulations of the body, such as the arm-pit or elbow joint. This fatal symptom is attended by no local pain, but is followed by violent fever, which carries off the patient very often in twenty-four hours. Families have been carried off in a few hours and whole villages depopulated by this scourge, which appears to be highly contagious. It would seem to be confined to the lowlands, and people may escape it by taking refuge on the heights, if they can avoid ever descending thence during its continuance. After many remedies had been tried in vain, some one, it is not known who, thought of administering ipecacuanha, which was quickly adopted by the missionaries, and is now extensively used, with very good results, in doses of from one to two grammes, repeated at intervals. Other emetics have been tried as a substitute, but without success. The plague no doubt originated in the frightful mortality of the civil war, the poison of the corrupting bodies being transmitted or disseminated by the rats.

**Volcanic Eruption in the Pacific.**—A letter in the *Fiji Times* gave the first news of an appalling volcanic outburst in the island of Ninfu, one of the Tonga group. The eruption, which occurred at the end of August 1886, was preceded by violent earthquakes and storms of thunder and lightning. The inhabitants, alarmed by these premonitory symptoms, left the six other villages to congregate in Futoo, a town on the leeward or western side of the island. From the 30th to the 31st of August violent shocks and earth-tremors were incessant, until, on the latter date, the subterranean fires burst through the earth-crust



on the shores of the lake, and a column of flame, visible at Keppel Island, 100 miles distant, shot up 2,000 feet into the air. For ten days the eruption continued, with varying degrees of violence, the earthquake shocks scarcely ever intermitting for an hour. The natives on the arrival of a ship were found huddled together at one end of the island, much terrified but uninjured. Provisions were left to them, but, as there seemed to be no further immediate danger, it was judged better not to remove them. This was perhaps an outlet of the great earthquake wave which shook the Southern States of America.—*Times*, December 2.

**Trade of the Corea.**—No. 61 of the annual series of Foreign Office Reports contains a report by Consul-General Baber on the trade and the commerce of the Corea for 1885. Although the figures are still very small, imports and exports together amounting only to £382,000, this figure shows an advance on that for the previous year. This increase Mr. Baber attributes to the consumption of Manchester goods, used, he says, by 6,000,000 out of the 8,000,000 inhabitants, the heavier classes alone being in demand, and sized goods being unsaleable.

The resources of the country are (he goes on) considerable, and with peace and good government Corea ought to afford an important outlet for British piece goods. These now hold the market, but so far English merchants have avoided entering the country, being content to allow Japanese to act for them and control the trade. One German firm has established a house at Chemulpo, and secured several government contracts; the agents of the American Trading Company have also visited the country, and met with so much encouragement, that they now propose to open an office in the capital. Several British merchants have prospected the country, but they retired after incurring heavy losses. Chinese, mostly from Chefoo, carry on a small barter-trade; nine-tenths of the shipping and of the import and export business is in Japanese hands, but of the goods imported, nearly two-thirds are of British origin and manufacture. In view of the revolutions and continuous political scares, the annual epidemics of cholera and relapsing fever, and, not least, the inexperience and vacillation of the native officials, it does not seem probable that any British mercantile firm of repute is likely to be established for some time to come in any of the three treaty ports."

**Massacre in the Louisiade Archipelago.**—The *Melbourne Argus* of November 1st has the following telegram from Cooktown:—"The missionary schooner *Ellangowan*, which arrived during Saturday night, brings the information that Thomas Mullens reported at Fort Moresby that while he was at Renard Island the natives told him of the murder of Captain Craig and all the crew of the brig *Emily* of Cooktown. Captain Craig was pearl fishing off Johannet Island, near Gordon, a village in the Louisiade Archipelago. There were working with him Walter Hollingsworth, an assistant named Thompson, a Greek, a Malay, a cook, four Malay hands, and he also employed seven Johannet Islanders. On September 14th, a boat belonging to the *Emily* went out to the shelling-grounds, and the cook, with three islanders, who pretended to be sick, was left aboard. The boat anchored, and Craig and Thompson were in the act of raising the

diver, when the natives capsized them overboard, cutting the diver's life-line. The Greek was clubbed with a piece of firewood, and the Malays jumped overboard, and swam for the reef close by. The islanders in the boat returned to the brig, got a rifle, and shot the men as they were still swimming for the reef. Meantime the cook had been killed by the natives left aboard the brig. The natives plundered the brig, spread the sails about, poured kerosene over them, and set fire to the vessel, which sank in nineteen fathoms. On hearing the account of the natives, Mullens crossed over to Johannet Island, the natives of which, who were previously friendly, were afraid to communicate with him. By the threat of bringing a man-of-war, he compelled them to restore the *Emily's* boat, and warned another ship's crew to be on their guard. Both Craig and Hollingsworth leave wives and families at Cooktown.—*Times*, December 8, 1886.

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## Notes on Novels.

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*The Princess Casamassima.* By HENRY JAMES. London :  
Macmillan & Co. 1886.

THE irrepressible Socialist threatens to be as great a bore in fiction as in politics, and the subscribers to circulating libraries will soon have as much cause to anathematize his existence as Home Secretaries and inspectors of police. That it is utterly impossible to clothe this obtrusive personage with any degree of romantic interest we will not absolutely aver; we can only maintain that in the hands of any novelist who has yet treated him, he appears as an unmitigated and unconscionable nuisance. The reader in search of entertainment may generally make it a rule to skip every page in which he figures, and this recipe would reduce the fraction of Mr. James' work to be gone through to infinitesimal proportions. The Princess Casamassima, who gives its title to the book, is a fantastic foreign woman, separated from her husband, who seeks a stimulus for her jaded emotions in the companionship of socialists and conspirators. The story is principally concerned with the fate of one of the more innocent and helpless of these, Hyacinth Robinson, the son of a convicted murderess, whose fate would have a touch of tragic pathos were it not that he has deliberately brought it upon himself by volunteering for the rôle of assassin as the agent of a secret society. Ladies of rank who haunt the quarters of the poor under plea of charity, but really with the design of marrying revolutionary artisans, had better be left in the gutter which they seek by preference, and though perhaps intended as types of a certain phase of English society, are at best a broad

caricature of it. Mr. James, whose vaguely suggestive style places him at the head of the impressionist school of fiction, is out of his element among the social deeps where he has here sought his subject.

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*The Old Order Changes.* By W. H. MALLOCK. London :  
Richard Bentley & Son. 1886.

MR. MALLOCK cannot write otherwise than brilliantly, and his present work is quite sufficiently full of smart sayings to justify his reputation. His brilliancy is, however, rather that of the essayist than of the novelist; and the readers of fiction pure and simple will find lengthy disquisitions on socialism, radicalism, and all the other *isms* allied thereto, somewhat heavy pabulum. Of course the principal characters are theologically-minded persons, with a due taste for airing their various views and opinions; and equally, of course, the hero belongs to the modern type of half-hearted waverers, halting between two loves and more than one religion. Many eminent personages figure here under more or less transparent disguises, and we fancy the author has transgressed the bounds of good feeling and literary courtesy in his malignant presentation of a prominent statesman under the alias of Mr. Snapper. The change in the attitude of the Conservative party towards the Liberal leaders since "The Old Order Changes" first began to appear in the pages of the "National Review" makes this breach of taste all the more conspicuous; and if we mistake not, it will now grate on many readers who were previously ready to condone, if not to applaud, it. Catholics, at least, have always reason to feel grateful to Mr. Mallock for the sympathy with which he writes of their religion; and the argumentative hero of the book, who triumphs over all opponents in the fields of politics and religion, is a Catholic priest, to one of whose sermons thirty-four pages of letterpress are devoted. The descriptions of Riviera scenery and chateau life among the Maritime Alps have all the glamour of the South, and lend grace and poetry to the action placed among them.

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*A Modern Telemachus.* By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. Two vols.  
London : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

THIS is a tale of the beginning of last century, relating the adventures of a noble French family among the Algerine corsairs. We are told that it is founded on fact; and Miss Yonge confesses that her authority (as she found out after the tale was written) had suppressed several touching catholic features in the narrative. There is a little French lady very charming in her romance and heroism; her head is full of "Télémaque," and in the most perilous moments she cannot help seeing wonderful coincidences; whilst her serene readiness for martyrdom is really touching. There is also, as a sort of foil to the little catholic girl, a young Scot, Arthur Maxwell Hope,

lanky and noble, who supplies the necessary "dear-old-Church-of-England" element without which Miss Yonge's tales would not be themselves. There is a comic Irish servant, whose dialect is decidedly stagey; an Arab merchant, who turns out to be a Scotchman; an old steward, a great French lady, and plenty of Turks, Arabs, and Moors of varying degrees of savageness. The incidents comprise the capture of the party by the corsairs, their adventures in captivity, the death of some, and the final release of others. The story is sufficiently interesting, and the characters are endowed with that modified or transfigured vitality which does duty in Miss Yonge for real flesh and blood. She is rather obtuse in her ideas on some catholic matters. French children did not say their prayers exclusively in Latin at the date of the story; nor have they done so at any other time. The tale would have been exquisite if its catholic tone had been sympathetically preserved; but its starched and prim Anglicanism spoils it.

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*Lady Brankmere.* By the Author of "Molly Bawn." London :  
Smith, Elder & Co. 1886.

IT seems to us that the author of "Molly Bawn," has mistaken her vocation in abandoning her native vein of light comedy for the pseudo-tragedy of the modern disciples of Mrs. Radcliff. The domesticated Cupid of the croquet lawn, not the sombre Eros of the mystery haunted mansion, is her true inspiring genius; the butterfly dalliance of the covert-side and the county ball, her fitting subject rather than the gruesome fatalities of jealousy and crime. Her would-be sublime consequently borders on the ridiculous, and her melodramatic machinery suggests pantomime, instead of tragedy. Her heroine's wicked perversity is not even lifted to the dignity of passion, and the story of her married life is only saved from being absolutely bad by being utterly unreal. The climax of absurdity is reached when she goes to her husband to announce to him her intention of leaving his house with his rival, and when he, after escorting her to the rendezvous, first knocks down, and then buys off the intending Lothario. The story has an evil genius in the shape of a beautiful and unscrupulous foreigner, and a pretext for domestic misery is supplied by her unexplained position as the keeper of a lovely maniac; while these tragic complications of Lady Brankmere's otherwise enviable lot are relieved by the juvenile flirtations and school-room and nursery amenities of her numerous brothers and sisters,

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*A Northern Lily.* By JOANNA HARRISON. London : Macmillan & Co.  
1886.

THIS novel, which professes on its title-page to be the record of "Five Years of an Uneventful Life," is in striking contrast with most of its fellows. Instead of the hurry of incidents artificially strung together in defiance of all laws of probability, we have a calm

and restful flow of narrative, developing itself without effort or exaggeration. Elsie Ross, the daughter of a Scotch laird, the "Northern Lily," who gives its name to the book, is in her unpretending sweetness and simplicity an unusually lovable heroine, and we follow her with unflagging interest through all the phases of her life. The sweet Scotch lassie, parted from her home by her father's second marriage, becomes the stay and comfort of two English households in succession, and is received in one as its future daughter-in-law. When her life is blighted by the death of her young lover in Afghanistan, she still remains to solace the bereaved mother, until, summoned home by her stepmother's selfishness, she falls a victim to her sense of duty in attending her little brothers in an infectious illness. This is a brief outline of the story, which derives such grace from the telling, and such interest from the graphic studies of character and scenery with which it abounds, that we willingly forego the more involved sequence of events that generally go to the composition of the three-volume novel.

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*Neera: a Tale of Ancient Rome.* By JOHN W. GRAHAM. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

THE difficulty of reconstructing for us a picture of classical society, as the basis of a love-story calculated to interest the modern reader, has been skilfully surmounted in these pages. The most characteristic types of the early empire, the suburban rowdy, the luxurious patrician, the vulgar parvenu, the supple courtier, are interwoven with the fate and fortunes of Julius Martialis, the gallant centurion of the Pretorian Guard, and his apparently low-born bride Neera, ostensibly the daughter of Masthion, the potter of Sorrento, but really the stolen heiress of an illustrious senator. The fiction is laid in the later years of Tiberius, and the action takes place by turns in Rome, Sorrento, and the island-paradise of the sombre solitary of Capri. The tyrant himself, the most sinister of the Cæsars, is portrayed at the age of threescore and ten in the following striking passage:—

His tall form had contracted a stoop, and was shrunk almost to emaciation. His head was bald, except some thin locks which flowed low down upon his neck. Thus far might honest age be accountable; but to see the offensive ulcerous eruptions stuck over with plaster which blotched his pale face, was to awaken suspicion of polluted habits. Yet from the midst of his unattractive physiognomy there shone the undimmed brilliance of his large eyes. Their beauty had outlived the once acknowledged comeliness of his face, as well as the athletic proportions of his large frame. Somewhat heavy-lidded and slow-moving, their glance, nevertheless, when it became fixed, seemed to pierce the inmost thoughts of him they rested upon. Their depths were as fathomless as the ocean, save when lit with a sudden magnetic flash of wrath, which his minions ever watched for in trembling. Nothing throughout the entire empire received such unvarying cat-like watch and ward as those basilisk orbs which gathered more than they emitted.

To Capri, that island-mountain seemingly poised between two firmaments, which its gloomy master had then studded with his crag-built palaces, the principal characters are led by diverse motives, and here the *dénouement* of their story takes place. Hither comes the Pretorian officer in the discharge of his duty, and hither, to have her unrequited passion spurned by the true-hearted soldier, Plautia, the gorgeous Roman beauty, follows him in all the opulence of her wealth and charms. There Masthlon the potter meets his fate, a victim of the tyrant's cruelty; and there Neëra, forcibly brought at first by his capricious command as a prisoner, is eventually reinstated in her rank, and reunited to her lover, who is restored to the favour, after having defied and incurred the wrath of his imperial master. The story is not overloaded with archaeological detail, which is properly subordinated to its dramatic interest. The attachment of the lovers alone strikes a certain note of discord, being, perhaps inevitably, too modern in sentiment for its classical surroundings. Among the best of the historically descriptive passages are the glowing scene of the last banquet of Apicius, with its tragical conclusion, and the sketch of the palace-prison of Tiberius, with its fence of sheer sea-cliffs a thousand feet in height.

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*Sir Percival.* A story of the Past and of the Present. By J. H. SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

MR. SHORTHOUSE'S new story will not excite the same interest as "John Inglesant." It is weak, with the same kind of weakness which marked the concluding third of the former romance. Its central figure is a young lady—who tells the tale—and its purpose seems to be to show how a good young woman can make a good young man; as the "damoyse" in the "Morte d'Arthur" carried the Holy Cup to Sir Percival and forthwith "he was whole" of his wounds. The surroundings are of the nineteenth century, the period only vaguely marked, but since the setting up of the telegraph. There is an overpowering Duke, sufficient by himself to impregnate the very leaves of Messrs. Macmillan's book with the odour of aristocracy; a duke who talks of himself and his son as "nobles"; and who wears the ribbon of the Garter (or some other very refined order) when he dines by himself. He lives in a house surrounded by "miles of chase and forest," which is described as to all its fronts and courts and rooms and staircases as minutely as if it were to be the scene of a horrible murder. Instead of that, it becomes a frame for nothing more thrilling than Miss Clare's declaration of agnosticism—one of the best bits of comedy in the book. The heroine—not Miss Clare—exercises a very remarkable influence over the young Sir Percival; and their "goings on," which comprise a considerable amount of love-making and reading of Keble, are very pleasantly described. She seems to do it, chiefly, by a kind of subtle invisible radiation from her pure and ardent mind; and she herself is subject to a highly-refined and Anglicanized species of visions. Mr. Shorthouse writes as a believer in Anglicanism of the ideal order, which unites extreme ritual with

the most practical philanthropy, and at the same time feeds its mind on the most lofty and abstract conceptions—the mention of which, as we need not say, suggests to the author to introduce the name of Plato. Mr. de Lys is the Anglican clergyman who cultivates these ideals; and he, apparently, has inherited them from a grandfather who had been a Jansenist of a most superior description, badly persecuted by the Jesuits. He does not do much in the tale (except lunch with the Duke), until the end, where he is recklessly allowed by the author to print out a whole sermon; a sermon which holds up “ideals” in that manly and gushing style which imitators of Kingsley and Robertson affect, and which ends with a word or two of Greek, extremely soothing, no doubt, to the tradesmen and labourers who are supposed to be the audience. Sir Percival does not, we regret to say, marry his fair Mentor, though it is only justice to him to add that he makes every effort to do so. He goes off to the “West Coast,” and dies, in company with an Anglican bishop, the two having first received the Sacrament by swallowing three blades of grass “with intention!”

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*For the Old Land: a Tale of Twenty Years Ago.* By the late CHARLES J. KICKHAM. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

IRISH life among the farming classes is delineated in these pages with full knowledge of all their peculiarities, and with, perhaps, too great an elaboration of details. Protracted conversations between minor characters, leading up to nothing in particular, are occasionally introduced, and the force of the narrative is weakened by diffusion into a number of channels. The Dwyer family are cleverly sketched, their thriftless habits being combined with much that is interesting. They eventually lose their farm in consequence of voting against the landlord at a contested election, and emigrate to America. Tom Dwyer, the son, takes a distinguished part in the Civil War, and returns to his native place as a Fenian, and marries the girl of his choice. The motive of the book seems to be to illustrate the unfortunate position of the tenant farmer at elections, driven by the landlord on one side and by the parish priest on the other. This grievance we need scarcely say has now become obsolete.

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## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*La Controverse.* 15 Septembre. 1886. Lyon.

**The Causes of Spanish Decadence in the XVI. and XVII. Centuries.**—In an article with this title, Dom Jules Souben, a Benedictine of Ligugé, endeavours to trace the causes which determined the rapid decadence of Spanish power during the period named. It is a brief—indeed too brief—but careful and valuable article. The



wholesale emigrations which followed on the Spanish conquests in the New World, together with the economic consequences of those emigrations; foreign wars; excessive taxation; the neglect of the mechanical arts and all manual labour by the people, and their lapse into a general condition of laziness that became proverbial—these, it is here suggested, were the fundamental causes of Spanish decadence. The false direction given by the Government to public wealth, the failure of a nation, which did not know how to conserve the beginnings of glory and prosperity—these; but nowhere, says the writer, do I find as causes the hand of the Church or of the interfering Inquisition, in spite of the loud assertions of anti-Catholic writers. Transpose the causes of Spanish decadence to Holland or England, and the Protestantism of these countries would not have saved them from a like fate. And again, on the other hand, the Basque provinces, inhabited by the most religious people of the Peninsula, escaped the misery of the central country. Why? There the soil was less fertile; while the Inquisition simply “flourished” there! Yes; but the Basques escaped the excessive taxation of Castile and the scourge of wars, while attachment to their own soil limited emigration from among them, and a love of labour and modest simplicity of life did the rest. The author then replies at length to three serious arguments opposed to his theories, whereby it is sought by some writers to account for the result of Spanish deterioration (1) the unequal assessment of taxation—i.e., the asserted (wrongly asserted, as is here shown) exemption from taxation of the clergy and nobility; (2) the expulsion of the Moors, and (3) of the Jews. After some very interesting information on the condition and doings of the Moors, Dom Souben concludes that their expulsion from the Peninsula was an extreme and cruel measure, but almost an inevitable one, one, too, in keeping with Spanish temperament, with the wish of the nation and with the very nature of things at the time.

**Religion and the Prosperity of a Nation.**—Dom Souben has some introductory remarks on the nature of the part which religion may be expected to play in a nation’s material affairs, which are worth mentioning. Much is said about the fanaticism of the Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and I do not, he observes, wish at all to exclude religion from the list of causes effective over the course of Spanish progress. But we must not exaggerate its action. And we must not confound together the natural and the supernatural orders. Religion has not been instituted to help man to the highest sum of temporal felicity. Doubtless religion will, or ought, powerfully to contribute to temporal good, and that in various ways; but it has not been given to man to supply where there is either a want of political sagacity or short-sightedness in a government. In a given country its religion may be bad but its government excellent, and there the people may develop largely intellectual and artistic faculties: look, *ex. gr.*, to the ages of Augustus and Pericles, or the period of the Caliphates of Bagdad and

Cordova. On the other hand, a nation's religion may be excellent and its government execrable; material interests may there suffer and the nation lose its preponderance. Thus with Spain. St. Teresa thanked God for having given Spaniards a fertile soil and a fine climate; she prayed that He would add to His favours a good government. Unfortunately the government went from bad to worse, and the saying of Louis XIV. remains as true as it is cruel: "After more than a century of bad government, there is no government at all under Charles II."

Of the articles in the October number we may mention one by M. Albert du Boys, well known in this country by his *Life of Catherine of Arragon*, entitled "*Une revanche de la liberté religieuse sur le tombeau d'un martyr*," the martyr being St. Thomas of Canterbury. The article gives a narrative—founded on the most recent materials—of St. Thomas's struggle for the interests of the Church and the repentance and penances of his adversaries and murderers. The writer then goes on to inquire how far the King really carried out his promises at the tomb and furthered the objects for sake of which St. Thomas had died. This last portion deals chiefly with some assertions of Mr. Froude in one of his essays in the *Nineteenth Century*. An article by M. Paul Allard on the condition of Christians under the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 268-270) bristles with that erudition for which the writer is so well known. There are several philosophical and archaeological articles, one, the conclusion of a series, entitled "*A Theory of Free Will*," is by the Abbé Elie Blanc, Professor of Philosophy at Lyons, by whom is also written the "*Bulletin Philosophique*" of this number; another article is by the Abbé Hamard, on the "*Antiquity of Man*;" another, by the Dean of the Catholic Faculty at Lyons, M. Valson, is on the "*Origin of the World*;" and still another, contributed by Père Van den Gheyn, concludes a series on the "*Science of Religions*." The articles generally are that combination of a readable style and familiarity with the latest advances of scientific criticism which make *La Controverse* one of the most attractive of the French periodicals.

## GERMAN CATHOLIC PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, Canon of Aachen.

### 1. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Mr. Edwin Arnold's "*Buddha*."—"The Light of Asia" is the title of the brilliant article contributed by Father Christian Pesch. It seems to be quite necessary that Continental Catholics should become acquainted with the current fashionable systems of either philosophy or philosophy of history, adopted by modern anti-Christian scholars in England. Foremost among those writers who seem determined to put Buddha on an equality with Our Lord, is the author of the "*Light of Asia*." Father Pesch, being well

informed in history and philosophy, unanswerably shows that, in Edwin Arnold's hands, Buddha has ceased to be the real person known to historians by that name, and that, on the contrary, what Mr. Arnold praises and holds up to the admiration of the world is the Indian philosopher wearing a mask of Christian features. In this way Mr. Arnold may easily succeed in recommending his hero to the world; but he can do it only by infringing the first law of human investigations—the law of truth. Hence his poem, however skilfully composed and enhanced by brilliancy of language, will be pronounced by sober scholars to be destitute of anything like permanent value.

**Papal Arbitration in the Sixteenth Century.**—Father Arndt comments on "a Papal arbitration in the sixteenth century." The case of 1885 was not the first time that the Holy See had used its influence in the interests of peace between conflicting nations. One of the most memorable events in the reign of Gregory XIII. is the treaty of Iam Zapolski, by which the Pope succeeded in putting an end to the war between Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, and Iwan, the great Prince of Moscow. The principal person acting for the Sovereign Pontiff was F. Possevin, S.J. Doubtless it has been this which prompted Father Pierling to search the Vatican archives for documents shedding more light on one of the most brilliant pages of pontifical history in that age. Modern historians, with not very friendly feeling towards the Holy See, have been most careful to distort facts, so as to depreciate the Pope's noble exertions for bringing together Poland and Russia. Of course it cannot be denied that, in fact, the treaty involved many advantages for Poland. But what a certain school of historians insist upon, is an assertion that the peace fostered anarchic elements, and destroyed what seemed to forebode a better future. Helped by the solid works of Father Pierling and other *savants* of our time, Father Arndt traces the course of events which led to Father Possevin's mission into Russia, the noble exertions of the Papal envoy for establishing peace between the two nations, and his endeavours to combine their forces for waging war on the Turks. During the twenty-eight days that Possevin resided at the Russian Court he had several audiences with the Czar, who, notwithstanding all the pleadings of the ambassador of Rome, could not be induced to submit to the Pope as spiritual head of the Church. On the contrary, the same prince who had applied to the Pope, entreating him to effect peace between Russia and Poland, in a fit of fury poured his anger against Gregory XIII., in the nuncio's presence. The mission proved on the whole to be successful, since a peace was established which lasted for twenty years; and the only one with whom fault is to be found for perpetuating schism severing the Russian Church from Rome, the centre of Christendom, is neither the Pope nor his ambassador, but the Czar.

**The Edict of Nantes.**—The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is the subject of a series of thoughtful articles, thus headed, which

are contributed by Father Genelli. Having dwelt on the contents of the Edict, he explains the reasons which moved Louis XIV. to abolish the famous Edict by means of which Henry IV. had assigned to French Protestantism a position of which the adherents of the new religion had endeavoured to make the best for almost a century. The favours Henry had shown to his old co-religionists had by degrees created a state within the state. A main point to be insisted upon in reference to this subject, is the fact that the Edict was not at all a public treaty, binding two concluding parties, but only a decree issued by the secular power, which, therefore, was fully justified in altering and modifying it. The author of the Revocation of the Edict was Louis XIV. himself; it was not his minister Louvois, and still less was it his confessor, Père de la Chaise. Indeed, as to the latter, all the documents which have of late been dragged from the dust of archives combine in describing him to have been a man of great meekness, and indulgent rather than severe in judging his neighbour. Much interest attaches to that part of his study where Father Genelli examines the position of the Holy See. Innocent XI. never approved of the cruelties committed by Louis XIV. against Protestants, which are known by the name of the dragonades. On the contrary, he rebuked the King for trying that manner of converting those outside the pale of the Church. Yet it is true that when the King, by his ambassador, Cardinal d'Estrées, informed the Pope of his having abolished decrees too favourable to Protestants, Innocent XI. praised him; but it was only "for that way which our beloved son, the Duke d'Estrées, thy ambassador has made known to us." In other words: Far from being unqualified, the praise bestowed on the King was apparently restricted to that mode of acting of which the Holy Father had been informed. In summing up the contents of these remarkable essays, we may confidently conclude: the abolition of the Edict of Nantes was simply and purely an act of French statecraft, aiming at thus effecting both the political and the religious unity of the realm, the plan adopted was the work of the French ministry, and lastly, only State means were employed for bringing about this great and far-reaching change in the public life of France.

**Janssen's History of the German People.**—Father Baumgartner contributes a solid article on the fifth volume of Professor Janssen's history of the German people. His volume deals with the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the thirty years' war (1618–1648), a war which ravaged the whole of Germany, and rent it asunder, so that thenceforward the great nation was divided into numerous principalities, set up against the central power of the Emperor, and affording constant opening to the influence and intrigue of foreign powers inimical to the continuance of such fundamental national union as remained. By far the most interesting part of Janssen's new volume seems to be his description of the baneful effects consequent on that disgraceful literary polemic against Catholics which was opened by the Centuriators of Magdebourg.

Indeed, an unprejudiced mind having perused this part of the work will certainly not be surprised by even so terrible an event as the thirty years' war; the religious polemic of the Protestant theologians and cynical poets had well prepared the way for it. Hence one hopes that both Catholics and Protestants will attentively peruse this work; they can scarcely fail to be impressed alike with a conviction of the immense damage entailed on Christianity by the Reformation, and of the need of combining their powers in the effort to defeat the common enemy of Atheism and Materialism.

## 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

**Theological Professorships in Prussia.**—The September number of this magazine has a clever article on the battle about the theological faculties on the part of Catholics and Protestants. As regards the Catholic Church in Prussia, the general rule in the appointment of professors of theology in the faculties of universities, is a nomination, issued by the crown, and the "missio canonica," after due approval given by the bishop. By this method of acting the rights of the Church are quite recognised. For some time a movement has been making itself felt in German Protestant quarters towards obtaining greater freedom for the Church from the State bonds. The larger measure of freedom is principally claimed in the nomination of the professors of Protestant theology; and this very sad experience has brought home to pious Protestants the dismal ravages committed by some of their professors who are constantly at variance with the public confession of their Church. But our author points out the unreasonableness of such a demand, since, in the very beginning of Protestantism, the government of the Church was entrusted to the secular power. It is one unavoidable consequence of this act of the Reformers, and one fated to continue, that the call to professorships will be exclusively from the Government.

**Subsidies of Innocent XI. to the Emperor Leopold I. for the Turkish War.**—Dr. Meurer contributes three solid articles, founded on extensive studies in Austrian and Italian archives, on the large subsidies sent to Leopold I. by Innocent XI., to help on the war against the Turks. As the rescue of Vienna in 1683 to a large extent is due to the Pope, so, too, is it to him that Austria, nay, all Christendom is indebted for the liberation of Buda in 1686. Had it not been for the energy and sagacity displayed by Cardinal Buonvisi, who acted for many years as Papal nuncio at the court of Vienna, and for the subsidies sent by Innocent XI., Buda would have remained for another century in the power of the Sultan.

**Biography of S. Bernard by Dr. Hüffer.**—Another article in this number of the *Blätter* treats of the introductory volume to Dr. Hüffer's Life of St. Bernard, of which a notice will be found on another page of the present number of this Review.

3. *Historisches Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft.*

**Politics of Clement VII.**—Dr. Ehse deals with the subject of the politics of Clement VII. from 1523, when he was elected successor to Hadrian VI., up to the battle of Pavia, in which Charles V. defeated Francis I. Modern historians find fault with the Pope for want of thoroughness in his politics. But in his defence, due allowance is to be made for his exalted position as Father of all Christians, and hence also of rival princes, no less than for the fact that, being an Italian sovereign, he was obliged to vindicate the independence of the Pontifical States.

**The Life of Von Ranke.**—By far the best contribution is a sketch of Professor Ranke's life and various writings, by Baron von Reumont. Not many German historians are so well known in England as the late Professor Ranke, whose history of the Popes was so favourably introduced in the *Edinburgh Review* by Macaulay. Both this work and his "History of England in the Seventeenth Century" have been translated into English. Ranke's "History of England" now-a-days seems to be superseded by the recent work of Mr. S. R. Gardiner. Though largely known in England by his book on the Popes, his English history did not succeed to the same extent, probably because he seemed to show a certain amount of predilection for the Tories, although he did not shrink, unlike Disraeli, from severely censuring Charles I. Baron von Reumont's remarkable essay ought to meet with a large circulation in England.

Rev. — Schwarz contributes some unpublished documents from the Vatican archives, as useful for tracing the character of Dr. Gropper, the learned representative of German Catholics in the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, to whose sound doctrine and unflagging zeal the Archdiocese of Cologne owed its fidelity in adhering to the Catholic faith.

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*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

Father München contributes an article on the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and Father Duhr writes on Father Edward Petre, S.J., privy councillor of James II., and deals with the charges brought against him by Protestants and by not a few Catholic authors. An English version of this able article on Father Petre has appeared in the November and December numbers of *The Month*, to which I may refer the reader without further remark.

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**ITALIAN PERIODICALS.**

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 6 Novembre, 1886.

**The Deluge.**—The question of the Deluge and the obscure problems connected with it have always, more or less, exercised the minds of scientists; but of late years it has become the subject of



much wider and more animated discussion, particularly as regards two points: 1. Its universality; whether and within what limits may or ought to be restricted the absolute universality which the Bible, *primâ facie*, seems to attribute to it, and which all early commentators have taken for granted. 2. As regards the physical explanation of the Deluge and its connection with other now well-ascertained geological facts. The Abbé Motaïs, in a recent work entitled "*La Deluge Biblique devant la Foi, l'Ecriture, et la Science*," entertained the bold proposition, already advanced or favoured by Cuvier, Quatrefages, Lenormant, and other distinguished philosophers, as serving better to explain the origin of the yellow and black races, that the Deluge was restricted to the descendants of Seth and the region they occupied, the rest of the human race being exempt. The Abbé maintained his argument with much ability, and laboured to prove that such an opinion was not repugnant either to Scripture or to the Catholic faith. His thesis has found supporters even among Catholics; but it has also met with strenuous opposition. The *Civiltà Cattolica* is of opinion that it will never make much way, should it not even suffer shipwreck by incurring censure. Most of the Catholic exegetists of the present day, and those of the highest authority, are inclined to adopt a medium view, which, while excluding the *absolute* sense of the term universal as applied to the Deluge, would attribute one which may be called relative; that is, it would comprise the destruction of the whole human race and the submersion of that portion of the earth peopled by them, along with the animals it contained.

In this opinion Alberto Cetta, the author of a valuable work on the subject of the Deluge, which has been recently published, coincides in the main; but he adds several remarkable suggestions of his own, which are reviewed at some length in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, but to which we can but briefly advert. While holding that the Noachian Flood was not universal in the sense of having literally covered the tops of the highest mountains on the whole surface of the globe, he opines that throughout the regions already peopled by man this divine judgment had the completeness threatened by God and described in Genesis as actually witnessed by Noe and by those enclosed with him in the Ark. In extent, therefore, the completeness of the submersion was local, not universal. Moreover, he holds that there may have been, and probably were, disturbances, contemporaneous, or approximately so, in all other parts of the earth, by which it was more or less convulsed, without being totally submerged. This view he considers to be perfectly reconcilable with Scripture, as well as most agreeable to general tradition; and not only reconcilable with the Scriptural account but more consistent, for he sees indications of its truth in the very language of God to Noe, in which the cataclysm is certainly described as universal, although the expressions which speak of every living creature perishing need not be understood in an absolute sense, such expressions being used with an implied



restriction in various parts of the Bible; and he instances in particular Acts xi. 5, "every nation under heaven," an assertion apparently absolute, but obviously having a limited sense. So far, indeed, from its being necessary to conclude that all living animals on the face of the globe, save those in the Ark, perished, the contrary is more than implied in Gen. ix. 10, where "all the beasts of the earth" are mentioned in contradistinction to those which came forth out of the Ark, in order to their being included in the covenant which God was establishing. The Deluge, then, he believes to have been a cataclysm which, while affecting more or less all parts of the globe, utterly destroyed the whole human race, with the exception of the individuals preserved in the Ark, and entirely submerged the regions which they had peopled. Such was the Noachian Deluge, as threatened by God and described by Moses. Several other very interesting questions are touched on by the author, who, with reference to the supposed survival of other branches of Adam's descendants, observes that the difficulty which this hypothesis pretends to solve is but thrown further back, and is in no wise removed.

The greater part of Cetta's work treats of the second question, viz. : the physical explanation of the Deluge, the secondary causes of this disaster, its date, its effect, and visible traces, &c., to which, indeed, these observations on its universality are but a preliminary. The whole matter seems to have been handled by him with great ability and learning, and we need scarcely say that it is one of exceeding interest. The reviewer promises to return to the subject on a future occasion.

**The Nebuchodonosor of Judith.**—This is the second article which has appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica* concerning the identity of this personage. In the first, the reviewer simply collected the numerous opinions which have been held upon this debated question. In the present notice a selection is made of such as are at all entitled to consideration. The writer at once sets aside all heterodox views, and confines himself to the opinions of Catholics, who accept from the hands of the Church the Book of Judith as canonical and therefore divinely inspired, and presuppose its historic reality. After making this deduction, the choice amongst no less than fifteen kings as claiming to represent the Nebuchodonosor of Judith is offered to us, but the Reviewer has no difficulty in eliminating five of the number on the irrefragable authority of cuneiform inscriptions unknown at the time that they met with their several advocates. The Nebuchodonosors are thus reduced to ten : two Syrian kings, four Persian, and four Mesopotamian. These last are Nebuchodonosor the Great, Assurbanipal, Asarhaddon, and Merodach Baladan. The reviewer's choice is at once made of Assurbanipal. Even three centuries ago, Nicolo Serario, a celebrated commentator, by the sole guide of chronological computation, had divined that the Ninivite monarch who sent Holofernes against Palestine must have been a son of Asarhaddon. Petavius and Tirinus subsequently

arrived at a like conclusion. But the name of this monarch had been buried in the oblivion of twenty-two centuries, to revive, with many of the great deeds of his memorable reign, by the discovery of the indelible inscriptions on the cylinders of Ninive. This king Assurbanipal was contemporary of Manasse, king of Juda, during a portion of their respective reigns; and to that period we have every reason to refer the events recorded in the Book of Judith. No other pretender will satisfy the conditions required by the narrative. He is described in the text (i. 5) as "King of the Assyrians, who reigned in Ninive, the great city." Ninive, therefore, was still great and flourishing, and cannot yet have suffered the destruction foretold by Tobias and inflicted by the Medes and Babylonians in the year 625 B.C., or somewhat later. Up to that date it had remained the capital of the Assyrian empire, but with that empire it fell, never to resume its splendour or importance. If this be so, and the reviewer supports his argument by strong proofs, it is clear that the Nebuchodonosor of Judith cannot be found among any of the kings who reigned after the year 600. The conclusion at which he satisfactorily arrives is that not one of the Chaldean, Persian, or Greek sovereigns who reigned in Western Asia during and subsequent to the seventh century before Christ can satisfy the fundamental conditions laid down by the Biblical text already quoted; that is, not one of them can be identified with the Nebuchodonosor who reigned in Ninive, the great city, a description which fully agrees with that of Jonas the prophet, when sent to threaten it with destruction. Having thus removed objections, the reviewer purposes to examine in a future article the proofs which militate in favour of the view he has himself advanced.

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## Notices of Books.

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*The Life of Jean Baptiste Muard.* (Library of Religious Biography. Edited by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. Vol. ix.) London: Burns & Oates. 1886.

IN noticing a fresh volume of Mr. Healy Thompson's admirable biographies, we can only repeat what has been said of all the preceding volumes, that it is scholarly, edifying, and in the best sense popular. The present work, however, may claim to be exceptionally interesting. Père Muard's life has been written before; but Mr. Thompson has had access, not only to a number of sworn depositions not yet published, but to a document which makes this volume of supreme importance and value—to a diary, that is to say, of the venerable man's personal companion, covering the whole of

his life, from the time he resigned his parish, and began his distinctive work. This diary, or life, exists in manuscript at Buckfast Abbey, and Mr. Thompson has been fortunate in being permitted to see it. It is only to be regretted that the manuscript itself has not been printed. The reader feels, as he goes through the pages of the narrative, that the very words of the saintly man's companion would have had a charm which no mere transcription can give; and Mr. Thompson, it is only right to say, expresses the same feeling himself.

Père Muard was one of those plain, simple, devoted French priests, of whom St. Vincent de Paul, and the Curé d'Ars are the brightest examples, who move mountains without a single brilliant natural gift. Born of a peasant stock, he was seven years old at the downfall of Napoleon, and he died in 1855. For nine years he was a parish priest in the diocese of Sens; that is, from 1834 to 1843. During that time he began to feel himself called to a special life of penance, combined with preaching. With the sanction of the Archbishop he instituted at Pontigny, in the ancient Abbey Church where the relics of St. Edmund of Canterbury rest, a humble Congregation to carry out this double purpose. But as his vocation became clearer, he saw that he must have the religious life and vows to enable him to do what God called for. He, therefore, set off for Rome, with only two companions, a priest (the Père Benoit, who has written the life referred to), and a brother. After drifting about for a few months they found themselves at Subiaco. Père Muard had at first (as was very natural) thought of the order of St. Francis. But the Father-Guardian of St. Bonaventura received him with a "covered irony," which seems not to have been very successfully covered after all, for Mr. Thompson adds that "there was no mistaking" it. The wanderers could get nothing from St. Francis, nothing from St. Bernard (to whom they appealed in the person of the Abbot of Santa Croce), and nothing from any one in Rome. But the Abbot Defazy, of St. Scholastica's, at Subiaco, took to Père Muard at once; and, during the stormy winter of 1847-48 the three mortified companions prayed and meditated near the Holy Grotto of St. Benedict. It was here Père Muard desired to adopt the Benedictine rule. Returning to France, he obtained as a gift a desolate and rocky spot called "*La Pierre-qui-vire*" (the Rocking-stone), where he built a humble monastery on the site of an ancient druidical circle. Mr. Thompson is not at all clear as to where *Pierre-qui-vire* exactly is; but it seems to be in the diocese of Sens, near the small town or village of St. Leger, not far from Avallon, and not very far from Auxerre. It would be in the department of Yonne, and the ancient province of Burgundy—a good curé, who went with Père Muard on a terrible walk to look for a site for building, made the mistake of recommending one spot because it seemed just the place for good Chablis!) It was here that the holy man gathered a small community about him, which kept up the divine office and the sacred liturgy, practised a

most severe life, and gave missions in the diocese. The founder, however, died before the rule was approved by the Holy See. After his death, in 1855, Pope Pius IX. united his community with the Cassinese Benedictines of Abbot Casaretto's reform, and they founded one or two other houses in France. In 1880 they were expelled from Pierre-qui-vire, like the other congregations, and after a short time settled at Buckfastleigh, in Devonshire, where they now are. This biography by Mr. Thompson relates all this with great variety of edifying detail. There are amusing stories, too, scattered up and down the pages, which will attract readers who may require some such little inducement to read a "spiritual" book. The impression it leaves upon us is that Père Muard had no very striking trait of character. The great characteristic of a saint—and we may venture without anticipating the judgment of the Church to call Père Muard a saint—is of course his sanctity; that perfect love of God which shows itself in heroic practice. But of the saints, some have left inspired writing, some have wrought wondrous miracles, some have been great preachers; others have laid down their lives or suffered heroically. There is nothing very striking in this life, except, perhaps, the saintly man's wonderful abstinence. But there is abundance of edifying matter—sayings, letters, acts of devotedness, pastoral solicitude, and answers to prayer. Whatever may finally be the judgment of the Holy See on Père Muard's spirit, it is certain that his holy career has left its mark not only on his own diocese and in France, but on the spiritual life of thousands who have been encouraged to penance and devotion by his words and example. This book is sold for the benefit of the struggling community at Buckfast, and all who are interested in antique observance, in the conversion of England, and in Benedictine progress, should assist in making it known.

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*Souls Departed: being a Defence and Declaration of the Catholic Church's Doctrine touching Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead.*  
By Cardinal ALLEN. Edited by Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.  
London: Burns & Oates. 1886.

IT is to be hoped that the reader who takes up this very interesting reprint may not require the advice given him by Father Bridgett—to dip into it at two specified places so as to be "encouraged" to read the whole work. Allen thought that the doctrine of purgatory "touched the very core of heresy." No doubt it does; embracing as it does the practical answer of the Church to the Lutheran justification by faith, and the Calvinistic fatalism. Nothing can be more complete, nothing more effective, nothing more moderate and scholarly than this treatise of the great English confessor and organizer on purgatory and prayer for the departed. Not only is it not out of date at the present day, but there is no modern work of the sort in English or French, so far as we are aware, which is either half so persuasive or half so eloquent. Allen writes in long, striding sentences, as Campion wrote, and as

Jeremy Taylor wrote; but the phrase is so true in its aim, the rhythm so pleasing, the balance of epithet so just, that one forgets the slight archaism of the construction. Father Bridgett deserves the thanks of all English-speaking Catholics for rescuing this splendid piece of polemic from oblivion. We trust that its reception will be such as to encourage him to give us more from the same source. The book is prettily got up, and excellently printed in handy form.

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*Purgatory, Dogmatic and Scholastic.* By Rev. M. CANTY, P.P. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

THIS is a meritorious manual for popular use, containing an exposition of the theology and scriptural proof of purgatory. The author is moderate, and proves his views very carefully, giving fairly complete reference to authority. For the preacher and the general reader this handy work offers great advantages.

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*History of St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.* With a Preface by the Most Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D., Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. Edinburgh & London: John Chisholm.

WHY should St. Margaret's publish an octavo volume of its history? In what way does the history interest the general public? St. Margaret's was the first religious house founded in Scotland since the Reformation; and in his preface, where he alludes to the vast advance of the Catholic faith and institutions in Calvinistic Scotland, Archbishop Smith considers that St. Margaret's Convent is deservedly numbered among the causes contributing to that result. "The history, therefore, of such an institution," he continues, "appears most opportunely at a time when the Convent is keeping its Golden Jubilee." It will be seen that this volume is in fact a chapter, and an interesting one, in the history of the Church in general and the revival of conventual life in Scotland in particular. Bishop Gillis was the first instrument whom Providence raised to effect the arduous task of reintroducing nuns into Scotland, and the early portion of the book gives an interesting sketch—all the biography there yet is—of this zealous prelate. A Canadian by birth, he was a Sulpician student, and in Paris a fellow-student of Dupanloup and other men of late eminence in France. The inspiration to try to restore religious orders to his own poor country came to him when making a retreat at La Trappe. Again, he made the acquaintance of the holy Abbé Baudoin, now declared Venerable, the founder of the order of religious women called the "Ursulines of Jesus;" and much he laboured at home and on the Continent, begging, &c., for the purpose he took to heart. Then Providence sent him his first candidates, two ladies, one a convert, the other a Catholic by birth; and these went to Chavagnes to the novitiate of the Ursulines in 1833, and returned to Scotland therefrom a year later with a small colony of French Sisters, eager volun-

teers in the work. Mr. Gillis (as he then was), had purchased a house, after much difficulty and opposition, and he built a chapel. In those days—fifty years ago—such a venture was regarded by numerous visitors with anything but an intelligent estimate.

One day, while the labourers were employed in digging the foundations of the chapel and excavating for the construction of the vaults, a Catholic gentleman (Colonel Macdonell) entered the grounds to see how they were proceeding. He was much amused by an old Presbyterian minister and his wife, who were gazing down into the excavation with looks of horror. At length one said to the other, "There will be deeds of darkness done here!"

This sort of thing seems, however, to have been the extent of what Protestant feeling permitted itself. Timid Catholics, who thought the undertaking rash and premature, raised many difficulties. At last, however, the chapel was complete, and the Sisters took up their abode in it. The house which had thus been converted into the first Convent and school for Catholic higher education for girls in Scotland, was known as "Whitehouse," and was not without literary associations; "for within its walls Principal Robertson wrote his 'History of Charles the Fifth,' Home his 'Douglas,' and Dr. Blair his famous 'Lectures.'" From this auspicious beginning onward to the present time the history of St. Margaret's is here told with oftentimes over-much detail: this redundancy is to be regretted, as the Convent story is, in fact, from one point of view, also a history of the Church in Scotland during the last fifty years, and as such is of general interest. After the death of Dr. Gillis, the Sisters have found true friends in Dr. Strain and in the present Archbishop, who has long been a friend and father to them. Excellent portraits of these three prelates, and of another very great friend and helper, the Rev. Alexander O'Donnell, and of the first sister, Sister Agnes Xavier Trail, adorn the volume, as also do some views of the Convent. Of the sister just named, the convert lady to whom we have already referred, a word ought to be said. A hundred pages of this volume are devoted to her, and very properly, both on account of the value and the interest of some autobiographical letters written to give an account of her wonderful conversion. She was a woman of more than ordinary ability, and writes with much graphic power of analyzing her feelings and describing events; and her marvellous familiarity with the language of the Old Testament gives her letters quite an agreeable flavour. She traces in these letters the steps by which, gradually, she was led from Presbyterianism to the Catholic Faith. Her conversion, it should be remembered, took place at a period (1828) when a convert to Rome was indeed a rarity—Mr. Ambrose Lisle Philipps and Father Ignatius Spencer had indeed come in, but few others; and she herself was a young Scotch lady who had been brought up in rigid religious training. She was religiously minded, felt deeply for the ignorance and superstition of Papists, and when she started abroad took a goodly supply of tracts with her for their enlightenment; moreover, she was clever and well educated, and had had offers of marriage. She bravely faced all

the social consequences, once she saw the truth. We shall not try to quote any portions of her own record—touching and instructive to a degree—of her mental struggles, and the way in which the light she had so long prayed for—the “kindly light”—led her on to the fullness of faith. It is a record to be read in full by those who are at all interested in such matters. Turning to the remembrances of this brave lady by her sisters in religion, we come across an odd story of a London beggar, which we should not have expected to find here; and we are tempted to add to our notice by quoting it. Sister Trail “was delightful,” we are told, “when she related anecdotes of her youth.” We should think so, judging by the one given :

Her cousin, the Hon. Mrs. Erskine, with whom she resided, had a lady's maid who, one day, came to her mistress to announce her approaching marriage, and consequently to resign her situation. Mrs. Erskine had a great regard for the young woman, and made some inquiries about the future husband, all which were satisfactorily answered. When the wedding day approached the maid told Mrs. Erskine that her fiancé had taken a house in ——— Street, and that if ever her lady happened to be in that neighbourhood she would be very proud to see her. It happened, some months afterwards, that Mrs. Erskine, walking with a friend, was overtaken by a heavy storm of thunder and rain near the street named. The two ladies thought themselves fortunate in being near a friendly shelter, and went to the house of the *ci-devant* lady's maid, who was delighted to see her mistress. Everything was in perfect order; the house was nicely furnished, the young woman neatly dressed. She offered her visitors tea, which was served with perfect attention to all the requirements of a refined tea table. Mrs. Erskine was much pleased to see her old servant so comfortable, and said, “I suppose your husband is still engaged in business; what trade does he follow?” The poor wife blushed and looked confused, but at last said, “Well, madam, my husband is an asker.” “An asker,” said Mrs. Erskine, “what sort of business is that?” It turned out, on explanation being given, that the man was a regular street beggar, who took his station on one of the bridges. He had held this post for years, as a supposed cripple, and received daily alms from the passers-by. Thus he made a good livelihood, and kept his wife in a comfortable home.

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*The Synods in English*: being the Text of the Four Synods of Westminster, translated into English and arranged under Headings, with numerous Documents and References. By the Rev. ROBERT E. GUY, O.S.B., under the supervision of the Right Rev. Bishop HEDLEY, O.S.B., with a Preface by the same. Stratford-on-Avon: St. Gregory's Press, Warwick Road. 1886.

**I**N this well-printed octavo volume we have a complete text of the Four Synods, translated and also arranged according to subject under headings for more easy consultation. It must be acknowledged that this last plan is an excellent one: it brings together the scattered rulings of the several synods, and shows, almost at a glance, both the extent of legislation on any subject and



the changes or progress in such legislation. One chapter gathers together the passages which can be grouped under the title "Bishops," whilst others unite the decisions regarding "Chapters" and "Canons," "Priests," "Singers and Ecclesiastical Music," "Regulars," "The Laity," &c. We may be permitted to quote a few of Bishop Hedley's words on the value of these synodal enactments. He says in the Preface :

It can hardly be denied that the text of our English synods does not receive from the clergy that amount of study and attention which it ought to have. . . . As regards the admirable and edifying paragraphs of spiritual admonition scattered up and down the various chapters, it is not too much to say that few ever recur to them at all. Yet the pages, especially of the Fourth Synod, which regard the priest's personal sanctification, his household, and his mission, contain what may truly be called a complete picture of priestly duty which will bear reading again and again. Words like these are better than any book of spiritual reading, for they are the words of the actual and present pastors of the English Church; they have the express approval of the Holy See; and they are adapted, in a most special manner, to the circumstances of the times in which we live.

On the special value of a translation of these decrees, synodal letters, briefs, bulls, and pontifical instructions into the vernacular, we will again quote the Preface, which is excellent throughout. But we must limit ourselves to these two short extracts :

The present version has been undertaken in the hope and belief that it will make the original, if not better understood, at least more accessible and more impressive. To read a text in a translation is like seeing an object in a mirror; we have a different medium, and new relations to surrounding objects. Thus a translation brings out shades of meaning hitherto latent; it awakens associations of imagination hitherto unstirred; it places antique phrases side by side with modern modes of speech; and it brightens and sharpens the thought and idea, by taking it out of a dead language and putting it into a living one.

It only remains for us to mention that Father Guy has, as far as we have seen, done his work of translating the decrees, &c., with great accuracy, and with considerable success as regards the reproduction of technicalities and curial forms of construction in readable English—this last by no means an easy task. Wherever recent documents bear on the subject-matter of the chapters, they are given, as, e.g., the Bull *Romanos Pontifices*, the mode of procedure in ecclesiastical trials adopted and approved in 1884, &c. Finally, there is a sufficiently full index, which increases still more the value of a very useful volume.

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*Catholic Controversial Letters.* By the Rev. PHILIP SWEENEY, D.D.  
London : R. Washbourne.

MUCH to our regret, our welcome of this little volume has been unintentionally delayed. We may, however, comfort ourselves with the reflection that the volume is, in spite of its sub-

ject matter, of a quality that makes it as easy to recommend it now as when it was fresh, a year ago. Generally speaking, controversial letters lose their savour with the occasion which evoked them; it is not a little to the credit of these that they retain their interest. This is due to Dr. Sweeny's admirable method of dealing with his opponents; he does not lose his temper; he takes it for granted that they have their prejudices; he avoids mere reprisal or abuse, and only lets their objections and wild assertions influence him so far as to shape the course of his exposition of what Catholics do believe or think. Thus it happens that a series of newspaper replies bear reprinting together; the appearance of opponents whom one knows nothing of except indirectly is not tiring—it rather lends interest to the book. These opponents were of all shades of opinion—Churchmen, Dissenters, and free lances; and Dr. Sweeny's replies run through the long roll of charges against Catholics so familiar from frequent iteration, yet ever being repeated with slight variation and demanding new attention; the claims of the Church, the Real Presence, Cultus of the Saints, Mariolatry, Anglican Orders, Scripture, the Pope, and the rest of them—even the question of Disestablishment occupies one or two letters, one of which, by the way (the 25th), contains a page of considerable pathos (p. 93). Dr. Sweeny shows great facility in reproducing the teachings of theological treatises in untechnical and clear English; he knows what he knows, and is confident in his statements and firm in his reiteration of them when they have been confusedly treated in reply. He makes some good points here and there; we may mention as an example Letter 3, where he shows that the Catholic Church alone has made the poor *happy* by her charitable assistance, or Letter 14, where the jeer against the "slavish" spirit of the Catholic in his readiness to believe is accepted and made an argument of. The following quotation is a fair specimen of Dr. Sweeny's quiet manner and clear common sense. It occurs in the course of his reply to a claim which is constantly re-echoed just at present:—

The question, then, is, who are the true descendants of St. Augustine—they who constitute the Established Church, or that body which is in communion with the Apostolic See? The difficulty is easily solved by considering who they are who force the consideration of this question upon us. It is not the Church of England as a whole, but a party within it—a strong and increasing one certainly, but still no more than a party, and not yet fifty years old. The great mass of the Protestant population are bewildered, or laugh at, or are indignant at, the assertion of such "Catholic claims" on the part of their co-religionists, and such manifestations indicate that they see novelty in them. In common with many other priests throughout the land, I have the honour to serve a congregation who profess to have adhered to the Church of St. Augustine, though that adherence exposed them to the afflictions of many penal laws and made their lives most bitter. The immense multitude of Roman Catholics outside of England regard them as the true disciples of the great missionary, and would think it folly to doubt it; two-thirds of

those bearing the Protestant name look on them in the same light Who, then, is likely to be right—the immense Catholic and Protestant majority, or the comparatively small Ritualistic party?

1. *The Bible and Belief.* A Letter to a Friend. By the Rev. WILLIAM HUMPHREY, S.J. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.
2. *The Spouses of the King.* A Sermon by Father HUMPHREY, S.J. Preached at the clothing of two Sisters of Mercy, &c. Edinburgh, St. Catherine's Convent, Lauriston Gardens, 1885.
3. *Christian Marriage.* By the Rev. WILLIAM HUMPHREY, S.J. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

THE reputation Father Humphrey's previous works have acquired is of itself sufficient to secure for anything that comes from his pen a due share of public attention. "The Bible and Belief" cannot fail to obtain the thorough appreciation of every one interested in religious matters. There are the same indications of deep thinking and of painstaking labour, the same sound and clear exposition of Catholic doctrine which mark all his writings. The style is clear and well-fitted to the matter under treatment. In a recent letter entitled "The Divine Teacher," Father Humphrey addressed himself to the High Church Party; in the letter before us he writes more directly of members of the Low Church. The letter is divided into twenty short sections, each forming a solid and highly-finished link not easily broken. Starting from the indisputable fact that there exist certain genuine historical documents called the Sacred Scriptures, Father Humphrey leads us by a well-connected series of undeniable propositions to admit the infallibility of the Catholic and Roman Church "for which divine light [through the indwelling Spirit of Truth] streams upon the pages of the Sacred Scriptures." The conclusion to which the impartial reader must of necessity come, we prefer giving in the writer's own words. "Apart from [the divine teaching of the infallible Church] there is no solid reason why men should believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Men may hold it, but they hold it without rational foundation. It is a superstition."

We regret not to have noticed "The Spouses of the King" earlier. The style is graceful, and there is well-ordered arrangement. Those who have read "Mary magnifying God" will know how to appreciate the second division of this sermon, where the preacher shows how the espousal between God and Our Lady "is the prototype of all supernatural relations between the Creator and His creature." The comparison between the old age of "the virgin daughters of this world," and that of the virgin spouses of the King is drawn out with the vigour and insight we might expect from the author of "The Religious State."

"Christian Marriage" deals with a subject of utmost importance

in these days of legalized divorce. The only way for Catholics to persevere in fidelity to the Church's instincts amidst the growing sentiment of English public opinion is to have before them the Church's teaching on the nature of the marriage contract and the sacrament of matrimony. This is what Father Humphrey gives in this little volume of less than a hundred pages. It is only an outline, but it gives a sufficient sketch of what marriage is in the light of nature, and what when elevated into a sacrament by Christianity; and it gives the sketch in clear and terse English sentences. A very useful compend on a vital topic.

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*Der heilige Bernard von Clairvaux.* Von Dr. GEORG HÜFFER, Privatdocent du Geschichte in Münster. 1 Band. Vorstudien. Münster: Aschendorff. 1886.

THIS volume contains the "preliminary studies" for a new Life of St. Bernard by Dr. Hüffer, who teaches history at Münster. Such a scrupulous careful study of all the available materials gives us a high idea of what we may expect from the Life itself, which we hope may not be long delayed. The numberless contemporaneous lives of St. Bernard have been carefully compared, so as to establish their several dates and degrees of trustworthiness. The critical skill and labour bestowed upon them is what we are accustomed to in the case of a classical author, rather than of the mediæval life of a saint; but the results (though necessary for our author's purpose) are too technical, and too exclusively connected with his work, for us to enter further upon them now.

His study of St. Bernard's letters will be of more general interest. All students of his works are aware of their large number, great beauty, and extraordinary range, both in subjects and in the persons to whom they are addressed. They will therefore be glad to hear that the researches made by Dr. Hüffer in person, or at his instance, have led to the discovery of nineteen or twenty more letters written by St. Bernard, and four addressed to him, all previously unpublished. None of them are of first-rate importance, though they confirm our previous conceptions of his character. Six of these have been found at Toledo, one at Lilienfeld, and one at Munich; but by far the larger number have been sent from England. Mr. Edmund Bishop, "whose services to the advancement of history need no praise from German students, whom he has so often counselled and assisted," discovered twelve in the British Museum Library, and two in C.C.C. Oxford. The great interest of these letters is to show us how much will be found in these priceless collections, when they come to be examined by sympathetic Catholic hands.

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*The Christian Priesthood.* A Sermon delivered in the Church of St. Dominic's Priory, Woodchester, on December the 8th, 1885, at the Consecration of the Right Rev. George Vincent King, O.P., Bishop of Juliopolis. By the Right Rev. JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates.

THE Christian Priesthood" is a subject of much importance in these days, and we have read with great relish Bishop Hedley's sermon under that title. His lordship proves that, for the keeping of God's presence in His Word and Sacraments here below, the priesthood is necessary. He carries us back to Isaias, who saw, not the priests of the old law, for "there was to be the pouring-in of strangers," and the "sons of strangers," but those of the present day. "Vos sacerdotes Domini vocabimini." We are reminded by the sermon what we owe to priests; for "wherever they set their foot," as the Bishop says, "they raised Christ's altar . . . Under every star in every meridian they erected the altar of propitiation, and called down the Immaculate Lamb." We recommend a perusal of this sermon, as it shows that "men come to God by the priesthood" of the Catholic Church.

*Nomenclator Literarius Recentioris Theologiæ Catholicæ Theologos exhibens qui inde a Concilio Tridentino floruerunt.* Edidit H. HURTER, S.J. 3 tomi. Oeniponte: Libraria Wagneriana. 1886.

THE first part of this very valuable manual was published in 1871; the concluding part of the third volume appeared only in October of last year. Father Hurter, professor in the University of Innsbruck, whose Dogmatic Theology is so well and favourably known, has now happily brought to a close a work which may be pronounced to be unique. He traces the development of Catholic theology in each of its departments since the time of the Council of Trent. The book is not a mere list of names; on the contrary, each author is sufficiently described and criticized, and the titles of his various works are stated with much exactitude. Each century is divided into several sections, at the end of which, well-arranged lists are given of authors, classed according to the departments of science they cultivated, and (what is specially interesting) to their nationality. The amount of labour thus skilfully expended by Father Hurter may be gathered from the fact, that the third volume contains no less than 1285 pages. Of course Great Britain and Ireland come in for their share of space and attention. It is to be regretted that the learned author, in criticizing the works of the late Augustus Welby Pugin, did not mention Pugin's biography, published several years ago, by Dr. Reichensberger (Freiburg: Herder). It is to be hoped that the "Nomenclator" will find its way to Catholic scholars of every country.

BELLESHEIM.

1. *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* Clementis VIII., Innocentii X. et Benedicti XIII. jussu editum: Benedicti XIV., et Leonis XIII. auctoritate recognitum. Editio typica. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1886.
2. *De vi Obligandi Libri "Cæremonialis Episcoporum"* Dissertatio. JOACHIM SOLANS. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1887.

**H**ERR PUSTET has just brought out a very important liturgical publication—viz., a new edition of the "*Cæremoniale Episcoporum*." Its title-page is adorned with the name of Leo XIII., who, through the Congregation of Rites, has commanded the issue of this edition. And it was only becoming to entrust the task to Herr Pustet, who, as the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW know, has already presented the Catholic world with the "Editio typica" of the Missal and Breviary. This new edition of the *Cæremoniale*, too, will be the "typica," not merely in a general way, but by a special decree of the Congregation of Rites, of August 17, 1886. It is well to mention that every page of this edition, prior to its being put into type, has passed the strictest examination in Rome; and the text, therefore, may be considered as absolutely reliable. Further, in the preparation of this new edition, a pontifical commission has examined those parts of the text in which the Gregorian chants occur, with the result that not a few changes have been introduced, and former editions are now superseded. One, the most important, seems to be in lib. i. 27, where the melodies for collects are definitively prescribed. It only remains to add that paper, type, and get-up, are all of the high class now associated with the Pustet publications.

BELLESHEIM.

*Annales Minorum*, ab Anno 1612, usque ad Annum 1622, Continuati a P. F. STAN. MELCHIORRI DE CERRETO, et a P. F. EUSEBIO FERMEZDIN aucti et editi. Tom. xxv. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), prope Florentiam: Typogr. Collegi S. Bonaventuræ. 1886.

**W**E are glad to introduce to English and Irish scholars the above volume, just issued from the excellent printing and editorial establishment of S. Bonaventure in Quaracchi, near Florence. Amongst the eminent theologians who adorned the Franciscan Order, which has so well deserved of Ireland by preserving her faith, native language, and monuments, Father Luke Wadding holds the first place. Born in Waterford in 1588, he was called to his reward in Nantes, 1652. As professor in Salamanca and founder of S. Theodore's, Rome, he has strong claims on the gratitude of Irish Catholics; whilst his "*Annales*" testify to his vast learning. Unhappily, he had not time allowed him to bring his great undertaking to a happy close. This task fell to his brethren in the Order. Volume xxv. has just appeared, under the care of F. Fermezdzin, the present annalist of the Order. The

volume, which embraces the events from 1612-1622, had been originally collected by F. Melchiorri da Cerreto (1791-1871), but it has been revised and prepared for the press by F. Fermendzin. The latter may be congratulated on the happy result of his zealous exertions. The "Litteræ ad Principes" of the Vatican Archives and the Consistorial Archives opened up to him vast materials for illustrating the exertions of the Franciscans in every part of the world. Documents are here printed *in extenso*, and no pains has been spared to bring out a correct text, whilst their value is much enhanced by the Regesta and an excellent index. Any one who has been through the Vatican Archives will be able to appreciate the learning and diligence indispensably necessary for a momentous task such as this. Among the points deserving of special mention may be named the exertions of the Franciscan Fathers for the conversion of the Chaldaic Patriarchs, and again their efforts in seconding the desire of the Spanish monarchs for the definition of the Immaculate Conception. The third order of Franciscans should not be forgotten; we find interesting notices telling of the virtue and happiness which have accrued from that noble institute. Irish Catholics, as being particularly interested in their great countryman, Duns Scotus, will be pleased to learn how in the presence of the general of the Franciscans, James of Bagnocavallo, and the auxiliary Bishop of Cologne, his tomb was opened on January 13, 1620, and his remains laid in a more becoming place. For the study of ecclesiastical history in general, or of the religious Orders in particular, this splendid volume will be an indispensable auxiliary.

BELLESHEIM.

1. *St. Augustine, Bishop and Doctor; a Historical Study.* By a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
2. *S. Austin, and his Place in the History of Christian Thought.* By W. CUNNINGHAM, B.D. (The Hulsean Lectures, 1885.) London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1886.
3. *St. Augustine, Melancthon, and Neander.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1886.

THE first of these works is a very interesting and careful study of the life and writings of St. Augustine by a Catholic priest who has personally visited Hippo and its neighbourhood. He considers that his attempt is the first that has been made to present St. Augustine to English readers with all his surroundings. We have the narrative of his early life, up to the time of his baptism (mainly taken, as might be expected, from the "Confessions"); we have his episcopate and his numerous labours for the Church and for souls; and we have a brief analysis of his innumerable writings. It appears to us that priests and readers generally will find much profit in this conscientiously written book. A life of St. Augustine



which largely quotes his own words, and an account of his writings which gives well-chosen extracts on controverted matters, will supply in many libraries a most definite want. Our author writes pleasingly, but without any pretence of fine writing. There is a small map.

Mr. Cunningham's Hulsean Lectures for 1885 are concerned with St. Augustine. He calls him "St. Austin," a form which he seems to consider more Anglican, though it is simply the English way of writing the word used by Harding and Cressy, equally with Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, and by our older priests within the recollection of many of us. Anglican lectures of the type of the Hulsean are very unsatisfactory reading. They are generally a cross between a sermon and a dissertation; they combine the boldness of science with the timidity of orthodoxy as only a "lecture" can do, and when they start a sprightly canter it is only to subside in a minute or two into the usual jog-trot of hortatory Anglicanism. But, apart from the difficulty of making such a mixture pleasant reading, Mr. Cunningham has produced a painstaking and learned book. He thinks that although the Anglican Church does not require to be reminded of a St. Ambrose to stir it up to earnest pastoral work, or of a St. Jerome to make it study the Bible, it does need the example of St. Augustine, the contemporary of both, to make it take an interest in Christian philosophical thought. Mr. Cunningham thinks that "we in our day, distracted with anxiety and doubt, may well turn to him—to him, perhaps, rather than to any of the Fathers of the Church" (p. 10). What, however, contemporary Anglicanism is to get from him, beyond a vague impulse to "follow in his steps" (p. 8), is not made very clear. Anglicans cannot be expected to agree with one who did so much to "encourage" mediæval monachism, scholastic theology, contemplative piety, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy (p. 16). Mr. Cunningham, as an Anglican, is necessarily without a definite opinion on the principal points of Christian revelation; and to expect to be able to impress his hearers with definite opinions by a study of the enormous mass of the Augustinian writings is like expecting to find crutches ready made in the wild luxuriance of a Central American forest. To a student of these Lectures, it would appear that St. Augustine was not clear whether the Church was one, or whether it could exist divided against itself (p. 119); that he held the sacraments to be means of grace, but not to convey grace (p. 133); that he held some kind of a Real Presence, but nothing definite, and that he has apparently said nothing at all about the sacrifice of the Mass (p. 198); that he never wrote that sentence about "Rome having spoken," and, indeed, ignored the Holy See; that he differed from the "scholastics" (which?) in his idea of God (p. 39); that he tried to reconcile (as the author tries to reconcile, with more "ifs" than even an Anglican bishop should be allowed to use) eternal punishment with ultimate restoration (pp. 72, 73); that "as far as one can judge" he would not have approved of the indiscriminate scat-

tering of the Bible, "with no real instruction, with no Church life to commend it" (p. 167); and that this milk-and-water conjecture is an adequate rendering of the famous sentence, "Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas." We do not wish to be unfair to a learned and earnest man, but to approach St. Augustine in order to learn what the Church believes can be no more successful than to try the same process with the Bible itself. It cannot be said, so far as we have noticed, that this book misrepresents St. Augustine; the writer certainly does not misrepresent him intentionally, although we think he has omitted some matters which should have been more explicitly stated. But in St. Augustine, as in every orthodox Father, there are two kinds of doctrinal statement: there are the points which had already been explicitly defined by the Church, and there are those which were actually in process of development, and in which there had not been definition; and in regard to the last class, there are again two classes of statement, or rather three: there are profound expositions and arguments, there are definite pronouncements which have been accepted by the Church, and there are definite opinions which the Church has not accepted, or has even rejected. An expositor of St. Augustine who does not approach him with clear views on these different matters will do little good with him as a teacher of doctrine: he may bring out his personal character, his "method," and his "insight"; but he will make next to nothing of him as a guide to a complete system of Catholic truth.

Professor Schaff has written a picturesque biography of St. Augustine from a Low Church-German-American point of view, and has done him the injury of binding up the article with two others on Melancthon and Neander respectively. Professor Schaff admires St. Augustine, but "deplores" a good deal in his system. He acknowledges that he said, "Roma locuta est, causa finita est," and that he anticipated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (p. 89); but in describing what took place after St. Monica's death, he says that they celebrated the "Holy Supper" on the grave (p. 73), whereas St. Augustine himself says they celebrated the "sacrifice of our redemption" (*sacrificium pretii nostri*), not "on the grave," but simply before she was placed in the grave. (Conf. ix. 12.) The other biographies are interesting, when we have made due allowance for "correction" of the writer's theological status; that on Neander is especially full of curious detail.

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*Man's Knowledge of Man and of God.* By R. TRAVERS SMITH, D.D.,  
 Vicar of St. Bartholomew's, and Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin.  
 London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1886.

This volume consists of six discourses delivered before the University of Dublin at the Donellan Lecture in 1884-5. Dr. Travers Smith's chief object is to show in detail the very close analogy which exists.

VOL. XVII.—NO. I. [Third Series.]

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between belief in a personal man and in a personal God. From this it follows, in the first place, that if the former be accepted, a belief in the latter is also attainable. Secondly, it is shown that the difficulties which we have in believing the personality of God are the same in kind as those which meet us when we believe in human personality; moreover, the perplexities in our knowledge of human nature are inexplicable, unless we follow that knowledge out into a divine sphere. The scope is therefore a wide one, as it brings the author first to consider the nature of personality in self and in other human beings, with the suprasensuous elements, truth, beauty, the will and conscience, these are found to contain; so that "the recognition of the personality in one's fellow-man is a sort of religion." The same elements are then discovered in the personality of God, first as known by natural reason, then as revealed in the Trinity, which is shown to meet most perfectly the cravings of the human heart in communion with other kindred natures. In this extended field, there are few of the philosophical doctrines of the day that do not find their place. The author disclaims metaphysics, and his treatment of these difficult questions may be, perhaps, called too cursory to be conclusive for unbelievers; but it is clear, interesting, and persuasive for the general reader. We are glad to be able to add there is nothing in his teaching with which a Catholic would disagree, and hardly anything which he would otherwise express.

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*Philosophia Moralis, seu Institutiones Ethicæ et Juris Naturæ.* Elucubratus a JULIO COSTA-ROSSETTI, S.J. Ed. altera. Oeniponte: Typis Feliciani Rauch. 1886.

THE first edition of this manual of Ethics was noticed in our pages in April, 1884. It is in every way one of the most satisfactory introductions to Morality which have come under our notice. Extending as it does to nearly 1,000 pages, it is large enough to take in the usual points and to deal with them at ample length. The demonstration of the "end" of man, and of its necessary connection with the existence of an Infinite Being is well and convincingly given. The explanation of Morality and the origin of the idea of Good and Evil is clear and, on the whole, sound. But there are many students who will demur to the writer's teaching on Obligation. He says that an action is recognized to be "obligatory" in the ultimate analysis because it is commanded—necessarily commanded—by God. The obvious reply to this is to ask another question: Why should an action be obligatory because it accords with the (necessary) will of God? And since a satisfactory answer (as it seems to us) may be given to this, it follows that the analysis of the author is not ultimate. What is generally taught is that the recognition by man, through the light of his reason, that an action is or is not conducive to what his reason recognizes as his "last end," is the base and ground of obligation.

The truths thus written on man's heart are rightly called a law; they are the effulgence in the soul of that eternal law, which is as absolute and necessary as God Himself, and in that sense they may be called His necessary will. But we do His will because He is what He is and we are what we are; not simply and absolutely because it is, in the abstract, His will. The difficult subject of "Jus" is ably treated. It is almost impossible to discuss this matter in English, because Jus means both "law" and "right," and the confusion is too bewildering. But we have always been tempted to think that the treatment of "right" and of "law" in the manuals is needlessly complex. All "right" springs from the fundamental "right" of a rational creature to use his faculties towards his last end. And "law"—we do not mean the *lex eterna*—is only the organization, the reconciliation by authority, of individual "rights," rendered needful by the social condition in which man necessarily lives. Father Rossetti treats of theories and forms of government. He is of that moderately democratic school which all true Jesuits honour. He does not, however, love a republic; but he equally dislikes absolute monarchy and elaborately praises the British Constitution. In regard to the origin of Property, our author is sound and sensible; but he does not touch the real modern difficulty in the theory of property—viz., the right claimed by capital to be the larger part of the increment produced by labour. A Christian moralist should be prepared to vindicate the capitalist who pays his workman a pound a week and pockets another pound as the profit of his work. The right to possess landed property at all is clearly laid down; but at the present moment a little more fulness of treatment would have been useful in a matter which is so much in discussion. In political and social economy, the writer, as was to be expected, is no follower of the dismal philosophy summed up in the words: *Laissez faire la misère, laissez passer la mort*. He is utterly against unrestricted production, free disposal of land, competition in wages, and (it would seem) free trade. A labourer has a right to a wage high enough to support wife and children; necessary articles of consumption must have their prices fixed by the State; the labour of women and children must be guarded by legislation; and the State must interfere in the interests of the public health and morality. Most of this is not new, at the present day. The older economists made "wealth" their *summum bonum*, and wrote out their theories on the supposition that the desire of wealth was the natural motive power of all human action and aspiration, with which it was irrational and even impious to interfere. But economists are growing every day more and more tender-hearted; and the programme of subjects in which the State may paternally interfere, which was given the other day at the Birmingham Meeting of the British Association, leaves an impression that there are very few things indeed in which it should not interfere. Father Rossetti's book, though on the details of economics it is necessarily meagre, and though he omits to demonstrate one

or two pressing truths, will be found a very complete and useful manual of Christian Ethics. The author had evidently printed the book before he saw the Papal Encyclical on the "Christian Constitution of the State," or he would have quoted some of its very apt passages. It may be said, in conclusion, that the work is written throughout in moderately strict scholastic form, with notes, an excellent index, and several tables.

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1. *Expositio principii traditi a D. Thomâ Aquinate ad naturam investigandam rei materialis et rei immaterialis.* Auctore J. B. TORNATORE, C.M. Placentiæ: Typ. Francisci Solari. 1882.
  2. *De Humanæ Cognitionis modo, origine, ac profectu, ad mentem S. Thomæ, Doctoris Angelici.* Ejusdem auctoris. Placentiæ: Typ. "Divus Thomas." 1886.

THESE two metaphysical treatises seem to have first seen the light in a periodical published at Piacenza, known by the somewhat awkward name of "Divus Thomas," and devoted to the cause of Thomism. Whatever the scientific reader may think of them, they are evidence of a living interest in scholastic philosophy. A community which can produce, and which reads, essays such as these, on difficult metaphysical questions, and written in a very fresh and unconventional style, affords a most practical proof of the revival of scholastic study, so strongly insisted upon by Pope Leo XIII. The second of the two *opuscula* is on the Origin of Ideas. When the author had finished it, he seems to have found out what his readers probably will find out also, that he has put the cart before the horse. He has elaborately stated the Thomistic theory of knowing, both as regards the senses and the intellect. As to the first, there is not much to be said; he gives the ordinary teaching, and explains with commendable clearness what is meant by such words as the "sensible species," the "phantasm," and other technical terms. But in stating the process of intellectual cognition, he arrives at a theory which will surprise Thomists very much indeed. His view is, that the substance of the soul is one and the same as the act of knowing; that the very first thing we know is our soul itself; and that the "universal" or the generic ratio of being ("ens in commune"), which is the necessary element of all intellectual knowing, is the soul, and nothing else! Most students have hitherto read St. Thomas in a different sense. He is considered to teach that the soul's operation (the act of knowing) is as different from the soul's essence as the contraction of a muscle is different from the muscle itself, and that while the common or universal element in things is both gathered from them and given to them in one process, the soul herself cannot be known here below except by her reflection upon herself as she takes the successive "forms" of other things. Our professor, we must admit, quotes St. Thomas, and tries to read his commentary into the Angelic

Doctor's words; but it is here that we complain of his inverting the order of things. He ought to have placed St. Thomas's text first, and used it as a text. Instead of that he has given his own theories—theories which he admits are not clearly St. Thomas at first sight; and then, as a sort of afterthought, endeavoured to make them agree with the Master. We do not consider he has succeeded.

The first of the two works named was published three or four years ago. It is very hard reading. Nothing is so deep or so abstract as the primary constitution of Matter. The author, without intending an epigram, says very well that the first property of "materia prima" is its confusion, obscurity, and unintelligibility. He considers that the root of materiality—*materia prima*, in fact—is "primary and infinite mobility." This, no doubt, is something like the common teaching. The reader will find it dilated on in the brochure before us. St. Thomas, however, does not seem to have said as much. With him, mobility or mutability, is a sign of "compositeness"—the opposite to simplicity. But even a spirit is mutable; and there are some material beings which probably never change substantially. So that the test of "mutability" is not of much use in drawing the line of distinction between matter and spirit; and, if so, mutability in itself cannot be "*materia prima*;" it must be some very special mutability. Our professor calls it "primary and infinite mutability." But this is too vague. What the Catholic metaphysician has before him is, to find out and formulate that element in the material universe which makes those forces which compose it differ from what we know a spiritual force to be. It would almost seem that to try to define "matter" would be sure to result in as useless a tautology as if we were to attempt a definition of "self." The truth is, "matter" is everything—that is, except a kind of being which our reflection has discovered to us, and which has the power of making universals. You may describe "matter," but you cannot define it more nearly than this.

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*Impedimentorum Matrimonii Synopsis, seu Brevis Expositio, ad usum Seminariorum.* Auctore G. ALLEGRE, S.T.D., &c. Editio secunda. Paris: Roger et Chernowiz; Marianapoli (Canada): Cadiaux et Derome.

THIS is a new edition of a very useful compendium of theological information on the Impediments of Marriage. The writer, whose name is not unknown in connection with works of devotion, has studied brevity, but he is very clear, and, as we think, sufficiently complete for all ordinary purposes. He writes chiefly for the clergy of France; but English-speaking pastors will find in his seventy pages a full discussion of most of the difficulties which arise in their own practice. An index would have added to the value of the book. There are one or two matters, moreover, which perhaps might usefully have been brought in; such as, for example, the execution of



dispensations. But for practical purposes the missionary priest will find in this most handy volume the opinions and views of the best authors laid down in terse and clear words, and the most recent decisions of the Holy See duly cited in their places.

1. *Theologia moralis*. Auctore AUGUSTINO LEHMKUHL, S.J. Two vols. Editio tertia ab auctore recognita. Friburgi: Herder. 1886.

2. *Compendium theologiae moralis*. Auctore AUGUSTINO LEHMKUHL. Friburgi: Herder. 1886.

THE first and second editions of F. Lehmkuhl's moral theology have been noticed in our pages. The work has happily found a large sale in so many countries, that within the space of two years a third edition has been found necessary. The author has brought out the third edition almost untouched; except that a few questions are treated more accurately or with more reference to the actual circumstances of our time. An example occurs (vol. i. p. 714) where is treated the much-debated question of the regulation of wages, so as to satisfy the just demands of both labourer and employer.

The gifted and zealous author has had the happy idea of bringing out a Compendium; we sincerely congratulate him on it. Being intended for the use of ecclesiastical students, it will, we have no doubt, be largely adopted, more particularly as it is throughout arranged in correspondence with the larger "*Theologia Moralis*;" by reason of which good arrangement students may use the Compendium, and their professors also consult the ampler explanations of the original manual. Should a second edition of the Compendium be published, we shall look for a list in it also of the leading theologians who have treated on morals.

BELLESHEIM.

Bibliotheca theologiæ et philosophiæ scholasticæ selecta atque composita a Fr. EHRLE, S.J. *Aristotelis opera omnia quæ extant brevi paraphrasi et litteræ perpetuo inhaerenti expositione illustrata* a SILV. MAURO, S.J., ed opere Fr. BERINGER, S.J. Tom. ii. Paris: Lethielleux. 1886.

OUR readers have already been made acquainted\* with Fr. Ehrle's great undertaking of a new critically accurate edition, which is splendidly printed, of Silvester Maurus's Commentary on Aristotle's writings. The second volume, now before us, contains the Greek philosopher's treatises on ethics, politics, and economics. Any one at all acquainted with the history of Greek philosophy is aware of the threefold form in which Aristotle's ethics have been handed down to us: the ethics of Nicomachus, Eudemus, and the

\* See April, 1885, p. 455.



"great morals." In Germany and France, in our times, the subtle examination of these writings has resulted in the opinion that only the Nicomachean ethics may be ascribed to Aristotle himself, and that the two others have come to us from Eudemus, a disciple of Aristotle, and another as yet unknown, a philosopher who abridged the writings of both Aristotle and Eudemus. Father Maurus had, however, two hundred years ago, anticipated this criticism, acting on it throughout his commentary. The ethics are here followed by Aristotle's doctrine on the State and family. The latter work, the so-called "Economics," is generally considered not to be genuine. The editor has adopted for ethics and politics the Latin translation of Lambinus (1572), Georges Valla, and Camerarius, whilst due reference is made to the Greek text of the well-known Berlin edition.

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*Regestum Clementis Papæ V. Ex Vaticanis archetypis, SS. D. N. Leonis XIII. jussu et munificentia nunc primum editum cura et studio Monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Annus II. et III. Rome: Typographia Vaticana. 1886.*

IT is only six months since the first volume of this important publication, which is being issued by special command of the Pope, was brought before the notice of our readers.\* The second volume, just brought out by the Benedictine Fathers, under the presidency of F. Tosti, is not less deserving of attention. It contains the documents bearing on the second and third years of Pope Clement's reign (1306-7). The editors in their preface mention that henceforth one volume will be allotted to each year, whence may be inferred that the present volume contains the matter of two. Further on the editors inform us that, having been commissioned to bring out only the Vatican documents, they intend to act according to this restrictive instruction. They will thus, it must be acknowledged, perform their work more easily and expeditiously; but we may be allowed to question whether this method should be regarded as best furthering the interests of historical science. Let me point out one striking instance as given in the history of the suppression of the Templars. A merely superficial look into Bishop von Hefele's "History of the Councils" leaves no doubt but that outside the Vatican archives there are existing large numbers of documents issued by Clement V. connected with the affair of the Templars, not to mention the almost countless other manuscript documents throwing light on other Christian countries beside France. Hence, even the exhaustive publication of Clement V.'s Vatican papers will by no means provide the student with the materials necessary for tracing that Pope's reign.

The documents contained in the present volume comprehend Nos. 1513-2302. They are not more extensive, owing to a severe illness of the Pope. For the most part they relate to ecclesiastical

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\* January, 1886, p. 205.

benefices, matrimonial dispensations, and the Holy Land. That the first Pope elected under decisive French influence was quite alive to the importance of Rome as the capital of Christendom, is strongly brought out by the solemn decree of June 16, 1307, by which Clement V. appoints his Vicar-General for Rome, "*quam divina clementia statuit caput vobis et ubi nostri sedem apostolatus cœlestis dispositio stabilivit*" (ii. 27). Much interest attaches to the Pope's correspondence with the Tartar and Russian princes whom he supplies with bishops and missionaries of the order of Friars Minor. The political influence of England was very far-reaching at that time, and the English student will not be astonished to learn that a very large number of documents in this volume refer to the affairs of his own country.

BELLESHEIM.

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*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* Being Grimm's Wilke's "*Clavis Novi Testamenti*," translated, revised, and enlarged. By JOSEPH HENRY THAYER, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.

THIS splendid and invaluable lexicon should be in every library. It is, in reality, far more than a dictionary of the Greek Testament; it is a concordance. There are few words, so few that they may be dismissed as entirely unimportant, which are not quoted and explained in every instance of their occurrence in the sacred text. The editor is an American, a professor at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Professor Grimm, of Jena, completed in 1868 a lexicon founded on Wilke's Greek-Latin *Clavis*, which has been acknowledged ever since as holding the first place among Greek Testament lexicons. It is this work which Professor Thayer has here translated, with a few additions of his own (carefully distinguished in the text). Both Grimm and his present editor claim that they have given very great attention to doctrinal terms, without, however, encroaching on the province of the dogmatic theologian. As far as we have been able to examine the enormous volume before us, this claim may be said to be fairly substantiated. We have gone through with some care the elaborate articles on *ἀλφ*, *πικρισ*, *ἰὺς*, and others, and whilst it is evident that the author and his editor are not always in agreement with Catholic theology and exegesis, in assigning meanings to passages, or classifying significations, it is clear that there is no anti-Catholic bias, and there is an unexpected readiness to acknowledge the existence of dogmatic teaching in the text of the Evangelists and of St. Paul. As a help to the study of the New Testament text, this lexicon will take the place of a multitude of commentators. As an aid to the controversialist it will prove very valuable. In fact, for the English reader, there is nothing like it in existence at present.

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*Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs.* By CARDINAL WISEMAN. Illustrated edition. With a Preface by the Rev. RICHARD BRENNAN, LL.D. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1886.

WE have in this well-printed and sumptuously presented edition of "*Fabiola*," a striking tribute to the widespread influence of a book for which its writer certainly did not expect immortality. There are few stories which lend themselves so well to illustration as this tale of the Catacombs; and the completeness with which archæologists have explored the Christian antiquities of Rome has made it easy to fill these pages with woodcuts which are as helpful to the narrative as they are instructive in themselves. Some of the illustrations, it is true, are hardly perhaps accurate in representing the text. For example, when *Fabiola* wounds the slave *Syra*, we have the Roman lady standing up, her right arm raised on high, armed with the style with which she seems about to pierce the very heart of the girl who, on her part, puts out both her arms to save herself, and shrinks to the ground as in mortal dread. The author says: "*(Fabiola)* grasped the style and made an *almost blind* thrust at the *unflinching* handmaid. *Syra* instinctively put forward *her arm*, and received the point, which, *aimed upwards* from the couch, inflicted a deeper gash," &c. (p. 51-2). Moreover, some of the archæological illustrations are slightly erroneous in detail. The "ordination" at p. 32 represents clerics with the clerical *corona*, which certainly did not come into use till the sixth century. We must hasten to say, however, that most of the clerical scenes and groups seem sufficiently correct; and there is such a wealth of pictorial detail that it is not worth while insisting on a few blots where nearly all is so excellent. The print is large and fine, the paper good, the margins wide, and the binding very handsome. We observe with pleasure, in the Rev. Dr. Brennan's preface, the statement that, during the thirty years which have elapsed since it appeared, this touching and most edifying story has brought special blessings to the Church in America. Captious critics may complain that all the characters speak more or less like Cardinal Wiseman. Perhaps they do; even the little fishes, to adapt Goldsmith's phrase, have a tendency to talk like whales. But there is enough vitality in the characters and the incidents to carry off any feeling of stiffness. This edition will make an admirable present or school prize.

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*The English Parliament in its Transformations through a Thousand Years.* By Dr. RUDOLPH GNEIST, author of "*The History of the English Constitution*." Translated by R. JENERY SHEE, of the Inner Temple. London: Grevel & Co. 1886.

"WRITTEN from a German point of view, and intended for the German intellectual world, possessing forms of thought and expression readily appreciable by Germans, but not so wholly within English grasp," Dr. Gneist's book is not likely to attract many

English readers. The introduction, contributed by Professor Hamann, with a view to smoothing the difficulties, does not help us much. He tells us, for instance, that "we need now a pragmatistical exposition of the institutions in the living connection of all these reciprocal operations." Nor can the translator, Mr. Shee, be congratulated on the way in which he has performed his difficult task. He has indeed substituted English (and not always English) words for German words, but the original idioms and involved constructions have been retained. In point of style, however, there is little to choose between Mr. Shee's preface, Professor Hamann's introduction, and the body of the work. All are written in that strange dialect used by Germans who have a tolerable knowledge of English. Professor Hamann has already been quoted. The merits of the author and the translator may be estimated from the following passage:—

The closing drama of the Stuarts, and of the previous generations have afforded for the life of the nation a gigantic advance in consciousness of knowledge made sure of matters bearing upon the State, and of general human interest. Free understanding, upon which everything depends in the system of a free State, such as the nobility at the time of Magna Charta already possessed, comes back anew in a higher degree in the present generation. In the Cavaliers and in the heroes of the "resistance" in Hobbes, as well as in Locke, is mirrored practical experience in actual State government. It is in the schooling of communal life and its interdependence with Parliament, that is conveyed to the parties, for better and for worse, the understanding of matters of State, and of an actual influence upon the State. It is the habit of communal life, and its morally purifying energy, which repels, from the very foundation upward, all corruption in the State, such as the Court of the Stuarts had spread around. As in earlier periods, however, so in this time so full of strong emotions, a steady improvement of the law has taken its onward course, which, in respect of the further development of the Constitution, fashions the determining groundwork. . . . Regarded as a whole, English society presents, at the close of this period, a structure with lordly and dependent points of contact, gently graduated; at the summit, the Peerage as a culminating point of a landed gentry, wider spread and firmly fixed in the country, and of a class of gentlemen still more widely extended; then again, the entire ruling-class, with a preponderating influence over the electoral middle-class; the entire population held together on the groundwork of equality of property and domestic right. In this State structure, the foundations of the Estates were so immutably laid, that the violent acts of Charles I. and James II., of Cromwell and the Puritans, went by without leaving any visible trace of Revolutions—two of Royalist, one Republican, and one of Social cast (pp. 255-261).

The reader will have noticed that the sentences do not readily give up their meaning. If, however, he takes the trouble to read them over carefully three or four times, and does not object to the use of such words as "advantaged," "disrupted," "honorific," "unfree," "infructuous," his patience and toil will be rewarded. The book is indeed most valuable; and I refer to it again in an article in this number.

T. B. SCANNELL.

*Pictorial Bible.* Forty Prints, representing the most Memorable Events of the Old and New Testaments. Freiburg (Baden, Germany): B. Herder.

THE prints in this set of Scripture illustrations are on separate sheets, and will serve excellently for the walls of the schoolroom or for putting before a class during instruction. Each picture is about fourteen inches by twelve, and the drawing is bold, and both the colours and the grouping are arranged for effective use at a distance; at the same time they are artistic. Twelve of the sheets belong to the Old, the remaining twenty-eight to the New Testament. The latter are particularly clear and good, designed so as to strike the youthful eye and imagination; the four or five portraying incidents of the Passion being more especially good. For missionary instructions they may be confidently recommended, and also as a very valuable help in teaching Catechism and Scripture history, whether in the school or the nursery.

*La Coalition de 1701 contre la France.* Par LE MARQUIS DE COURCY, Ancien Diplomate. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

M. LE MARQUIS DE COURCY has given to the world a laborious and prolix account of the Coalition of the Powers against France in 1701, of which the conflict, generally known as the War of the Spanish Succession, was the result. His two volumes are a decided acquisition to an historical library. They contain, as described by the notice which accompanies them, "l'exposé lumineux des événements militaires qui remplirent la triste période de 1700 à 1713, et l'histoire approfondie des traités d'Utrecht et de Rastadt." It might be wished, that this work, so important in itself, were mapped out on a more chronological system. The author ranges backwards and forwards between the years 1701 and 1726, describing each period of time again and again in its different bearings, and interspersing the general history with biographies which extend over the entire career of the actors in his drama; so that the reader is continually meeting anew with personages who seemed to be disposed of for ever several chapters previously. In themselves the biographies are highly interesting; those of Prince Eugène and Marshal Villars are especially so; but they are projected into the midst of the conferences of Rastadt, so that we find the plenipotentiaries disputing over territories and signing treaties long after we have heard their panegyrics pronounced and their wills read.

Notwithstanding some perplexities of arrangement, M. de Courcy, while bringing profound historical research to the treatment of his subject, paints a life-like picture, or rather several successive pictures of that strange old time, that corrupt, painted, affected, vainglorious time, at once so martial and so effeminate, the English phase of which is best known to us through the contemporary pages of the *Spectator*. It was the beginning of the

century, the end of which, for France, was unavoidably the Revolution. The French monarchy in the person of Louis XIV., had risen to so Herod-like a pitch of self-glorification, that its ignominious fall, as might have been foreseen, could not be long delayed, and France—the France, that is, which blazed in the eyes of the world, for the taxed and suffering peasantry were behind the scenes—had grown so proud and so powerful on the strength of many victories, that other nations banded together to stem the tide of her encroachments. Hence half the countries of Europe were set aflame with war by the question whether a Bourbon or a Hapsburg should occupy the throne of Spain, though, indeed, this was not to be the last occasion when a dispute as to the Spanish sovereignty would prove the cause of signal disasters to France. Naturally, Europe was unwilling to see Philip, Duke of Anjou, mount so exalted a throne, however strictly he might profess to renounce the inheritance of Louis XIV., knowing, as Europe knew, how readily the French royal family could discover proofs of the invalidity of such renunciations. But the chief misery of the conflict was that so much of it was fought out in countries only indirectly interested, and by some of the belligerents with the lowest of motives. The Elector of Bavaria, one of the allies of France, “hoped to pay his gambling debts by means of the contribution to be levied on the conquered country,” which happened just then to be the Austrian frontiers of his own State. “Il ne songe qu’à tirer de l’argent des pays conquis pour acquitter ses dettes de jeu” (Villars to Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 31). The war waged on behalf of Philip was unfavourable to France. Excepting Villars, she possessed at that time no general worthy to be opposed to Marlborough and Eugène; the men who had made her fame in the seventeenth century were almost all gone, and none had arisen to replace them. A series of heavy defeats brought her, in the year 1710, to the verge of conquest by the allied powers. Her domestic misery, through an inhuman system of taxation which left the people no means of bearing up against the effect of hard winters and bad seasons, could scarcely have been greater if such a conquest had actually taken place. Disasters multiplied. The quasi-divinity of Louis XIV. was shaken. His own people began to find fault with him and with his ministers; his enemies without seemed to be too powerful for his resources within; the old king recognized the fact that he was neither infallible nor omnipotent, and we agree with M. de Courcy that Louis, in his reverses, is a grander figure than at any other period of his career. Perhaps his remorse and his resignation were a cause of the brightening of his prospects in 1711. At that time the Whig party in England fell; Marlborough was disgraced; Queen Anne withdrew from the European conflict. The frontiers of France were still threatened, but Louis happily selected for their defence Louis Hector de Villars, who, though a terrible gasconader, was dashing, intrepid, and a genius. The victory of Denain or Landrecies (a battle twice fought by M. de Courcy in the course of his work), where the French had the



good fortune to be principally opposed by Dutchmen, and where Eugène came up too late to retrieve the day, effectually barred the "road to Paris." It also enabled Louis XIV. to negotiate with England and Holland a not entirely disadvantageous peace at Utrecht (1713). The Archduke, Philip's rival for the crown of Spain, had now become Emperor, and Europe had no wish to see the monarchy of Charles V. revived by Charles VI.

Striking and even romantic was the attitude of Philip V., the cause of all the embroglio. His grandfather had set him on the Spanish throne, and, curiously enough, there could not have been a truer reproduction of the Spanish Hapsburgs than this last of the Philips. In character he was timid, irresolute, obstinate, scrupulous, at times heroic outwardly; Nature had made him fair-haired and blue-eyed, after the old type. He was devoted to Marie-Louise, his wife, and the two were governed by the Princess Orsini, the *camarera mayor*. M. de Courcy, according to his wont, gives us the history of this remarkable woman, in both his first and second volumes. A typical female French politician, clever, *intrigante*, arrogant, worldly, influential, she sustained Philip and Marie-Louise on their throne when their fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and rose to the apex of grandeur when the tide turned. Though, perhaps, because the Archduke Charles, with the aid of English troops, had conquered a great part of Spain, the Spaniards, with the exception of the Catalonians, preferred the grave, *blond* Bourbon to the warlike, imperious, and far nobler Hapsburg. Also Philip attached himself to the Spaniards, when Louis XIV., whether sincerely or not, invited his grandson to descend from the eminence to which he had raised him, Philip replied like an independent monarch, that his people had chosen him, and that he would abide by them. He did so, though Charles VI., refusing the mediation of the other powers, continued at war with France on his account. It was in Germany that the struggle was carried on. Here Villars took Landau and Fribourg, the latter not without circumstances of great cruelty, and at last the Emperor consented to negotiate. M. de Courcy gives an interesting account of the chivalric meeting and subsequent friendship of the rival generals, Eugène and Villars, deputed to discuss the terms of a peace at the Castle of Rastadt. Their treaty was confirmed at Baden, and by it the Emperor was the chief gainer. He would gladly have engaged Louis to aid him in restoring to the Catholics of Switzerland the liberties wrested from them by their Protestant countrymen; but the fervour of the great king, though it inspired the dragonnades at home, could not push him to an effort abroad, which he conceived to be impolitic.

Philip V., obstinate and impracticable, was not included in the peace, and loudly accused his royal grandsire of betraying his interests, especially in that he had allowed Charles VI. to style himself King of Spain in the protocol. He also demanded as a condition of his making peace, that either the Emperor or the Dutch Republic should bestow a sovereignty on "Madame des



Ursins ;" and pressed her claims with such tiresome iteration as to provoke Louis into declaring that great as was his respect for that lady, he was by no means inclined to make war on her account. What must have been the old King's amusement in 1714, when his grandson acquainted him with the disgrace and exile of the old Princess, whom Philip's second wife, justly disgusted with her airs of tutelage, brusquely dismissed from her presence and from Spain on the very first occasion of their meeting !

To this second wife Philip was a slave ; but she, too, proved to him a goddess of war. Years went by ; the face of Europe was changed ; Anne had been succeeded by George I. in England, Louis XIV. himself had gone the way of all flesh, and still Philip V. and Charles VI. remained unreconciled, each styling himself King of Spain and Emperor of the Indies. The stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance concluded by the Empire, England, Holland, and France, were, it is true, very favourable to Philip, but his only comment was slyly to seize on Sardinia and Sicily. The French themselves invaded his territory, under the command of that very Duke of Berwick who had conquered Barcelona for him ; and at last, in the year 1722, without reference to Paris, he concluded with Charles a peace which put an end to one of the most protracted and miserable of European wars. Thus was a Bourbon firmly established on that throne which was destined to be still occupied by his descendants when the family should have been deposed from every other place of power in Europe.

M. de Courcy is intensely a Frenchman, and a Frenchman of the *ancien régime*. Although some of his expressions with regard to that infamous slayer of souls, Voltaire, and certain other remarks on religious questions, are not altogether what we should expect from a devout Catholic, he yet deplores, as all must do who truly love France, her situation of to-day both as regards her political system and her treatment of the Church. Yet his book might have been expressly written to show how rotten was the condition of Europe in general, and of France in particular, during the eighteenth century, and how rapidly things tended, by their own weight, to revolution and ruin. Could the old State only have been reformed without being destroyed, a truly great work of purification would have taken place, without the substitution of one form of tyranny for another.

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*The Catholic Directory.* 1887. London : Burns & Oates.

THERE is no need of more than the mention that we have received the familiar "Directory" for the New Year. This year's issue goes on the old lines of arrangement—an arrangement which, it must be confessed, is on the whole most satisfactory and easy of consultation. We notice that the diocesan statistics of this year's "Directory" as marking Catholic progress have already afforded matter for paragraphs in the *Times* and other newspapers.

*Foremost if I can.* (The "Golden Mottoes" Series.) By HELEN ATTERIDGE. With Original Illustrations by GORDON BROWNE. London: Cassell & Company. 1886.

WHEN a book for young folks is decidedly attractive to them, and by no means uninteresting to children of greater growth, it attains a high standard; and we think Miss Atteridge's "Foremost if I can" satisfactorily stands this strong test. Its moral is sufficiently enforced without being too didactic. Its characters have marked individuality. Chrissy is charming, and the lads are of the right sort. The scenes from school life are capital. The collie dog, Bounce, who "went under the table to hide his feelings," deserves a word of praise all to himself. "Anything that could be expected of a dog, Bounce could do." The story has both pathos and humour, and is altogether pleasant and readable.

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## Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

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1. *The School of Divine Love.* By Father VINCENT CARAFFA. Translated from the French of MARCEL BOUX, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
2. *Month of the Souls in Purgatory.* By the Abbé BERLIOUX. Translated from the French by Miss ELEANOR CHOLMELEY. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
3. *Consolation to those in Suffering.* By the Abbé GUIGOU. Translated from the French. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
4. *Sister Saint Peter.* By the Abbé JANVIER. Translated by K. A. C. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
5. *Simple Readings on some of the Parables.* By G. G. G. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.
6. *To-day's Gem for the Casket of Mary from her Congregationalists.* By a member of the Ursuline Community, Thurles. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.
7. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Ignatius Loyola.* Translated from the French by ALICE WILMOT CHETWODE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.
8. *The Month of the Dead.* By the Abbé CLOQUET. Translated by a Sister of Mercy. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1887.
9. *The Glories of Divine Grace.* By Dr. M. JOSEPH SCHEEBEN. Translated from the German by a Benedictine Monk. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

10. *Texts for Children.* By M. A. WARD. London: Burns & Oates.
11. *The Little Rosary of the Sacred Heart.* By MRS. FRANCES BLUNDELL. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

1. **F**ATHER CARAFFA'S "School of Divine Love," though it hardly perhaps merits the somewhat extravagant eulogy of the writer of the preface to this edition, was assuredly well worth translating. It wants the originality and the decisiveness of a great book, and the chapters are in no ascertainable order, with some amount of repetition. But it is pregnant, effective, and very devotional. A short notice of the author would have been a welcome addition.

2. This translation of one of Abbé Berlioux's devotional manuals advertises itself as appearing "with preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning." There is doubtless no regulation length for a preface, but it would have been fair, in the present instance, to have let the intending purchaser know that the preface consists of only fourteen lines. It requires some learning to write correctly about purgatory, and also to translate correctly. The "fire" of purgatory is spoken of on p. 22 as "real," yet on the next page is distinguished against "material" fire. No doubt there is a sense in which it is true to speak of a "never-dying worm" of purgatory (p. 32). It is questionable, in these days, whether it does much good to recall the case of the lady who went to purgatory for having "two or three times washed her face through vanity" (p. 49). The book is well translated.

3. If books are ever of any use in consoling one who is really suffering, this translation of a French manual, approved in 1871 by the Bishop of Fréjus, may be recommended. The devout thoughts which it contains will at least lift up the heart from dwelling on mere pain and sorrow, and assist it to unite itself more firmly with God. The paraphrastic way in which texts of Scripture are given, and given between inverted commas, will not be liked; but the translation seems fairly done.

4. A pious and edifying abridgment of the life of Sister St. Peter, a Carmelite of Tours (died 1848), who promoted with great success the devotion to the Holy Face of our Lord, and the work of reparation in France.

5. Explanations, or homiletic improvements, on the parables, are not so easy as some people think. St. Gregory, even, declines to interpret the parable of the Sower, on the ground that Our Lord has interpreted it Himself. The writer of this book interprets it, but without making this graceful reflection. In the parable of Lazarus, "Abraham's bosom" hardly means "eternal bliss" (p. 130). These readings are what they call themselves—simple—and perhaps a trifle too long. To explain every point of a parable is generally to obscure the main lesson. But the book will be useful for the young.

6. The compiler of this pretty little book is honourably known for her persevering labours in devotional literature. She here gives children of Mary a "thought" for every day in the year; and she

draws her maxims and aphorisms from every kind of spiritual writer, from St. Augustine to the "Rev. Father" of her own acquaintance. Each "thought" is followed by a resolution; and each month is specially dedicated to some particular mystery and virtue. The language is good; but such an expression as "get into a temper" is not English, except in the regions of the girls' school-room. One of the resolutions is, "If uncomfortable or inconvenienced, I will silently offer it to God. I will not rest my elbows on the desk." Perhaps the bracketing of a small convent rule with things of greater moment may be apt to give false ideas to children, by confusing their relative estimate of things great and little.

7. A small, but handsomely presented collection of the sayings of St. Ignatius, all of them wonderfully pregnant and helpful. It is remarkable how little they lose by being taken out of their context.

8. Among books on Purgatory this is likely to prove useful. It gives, besides the usual month's considerations and stories, an excellent appendix of Confraternities and Indulgences. It has been approved by many Bishops in France; but it should hardly call itself "approved by the Sacred Congregation." There is more than one Sacred Congregation, and the approval extended to the work by the Congregation of Indulgences only extend to the Indulgences themselves, as appears from the text of the decree.

9. Dr. Scheeben's free rendering of Father Nieremberg's "Glories of Divine Grace" is well translated by a monk of St. Meinrad's Abbey, Indiana. The work itself, to our taste, is neither sufficiently precise and scientific, on the one hand, nor really popular, on the other. Father Nieremberg is a very straggling writer, though his erudition is wonderful. But this translation should be in the hands of every priest and cultivated layman, for we have simply nothing like it. The theology of Grace, apart from one or two abstruse questions, is peculiarly susceptible of being taught to the laity; and this book, which has gone through four editions in German, is an attempt, and by no means an unsuccessful one, to do this.

10. A little book of useful texts for little children; with a page or two of suggestive preface by the Rev. P. Gallwey.

11. The title of this manual rather misrepresents it. It is not exactly the "Rosary of the Sacred Heart," but a useful and pleasing method of practising the Rosary (of our Lady) by meditating on the love of the Sacred Heart as displayed in each mystery. The style seems to be adapted for children; there are perhaps too many "oh's," and too frequent a use of italics for grown-up people. The doctrinal exactness of the book is vouched for by the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin, on the recommendation of Dr. Tynan. We should be inclined to doubt whether it is quite right to say that Our Lord was "teaching" the doctors in the Temple; doubtless he did teach them, but the text says He was "hearing them and asking them questions." It rather jars on one's feelings, moreover, to be told that, in His answer to His Blessed Mother ("How is it that you sought me?") He "expresses surprise" (p. 50). This book will be much liked.

## LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

*(Many of them too late for notice in the present number).*

"The Religious Houses of the United Kingdom." Compiled from official sources. London: Burns & Oates.

"The Chief Periods of European History." By E. A. Freeman. M.A., &c. London: Macmillan & Co.

"The Christian Platonists of Alexandria." Bampton Lectures, 1886. By Charles Bigg, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

"Mary Stuart: a Narrative of the First Eighteen Years of her Life." Principally from Original Documents. By Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J. Edinburgh: William Paterson.

"Ireland and the Celtic Church." By George T. Stokes, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

"Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle." Edited by Charles Eliot Norton. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

"Life of Antonio Rosmini Serbati, Founder of the Institute of Charity." Edited by W. Lockhart. Second Edition. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

"A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment." By Roundell Earl of Selborne. London: Macmillan & Co.

"The Ignatian Epistles Entirely Spurious: a Reply to Right Rev. Dr. Lightfoot." By W. D. Killan, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

"Records relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise." By Very Rev. J. Canon Morahan, D.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

"The Venerable Bede, Expurgated, Expounded, and Exposed." By the Frig. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

"History of England under Henry IV." By J. H. Wylie, M.A. Vol. I. London: Longmans & Co.

"Monotheism the Primitive Religion of Rome." By Rev. Henry Formby. London: Burns & Oates.

"Christian Apologetics." By J. H. A. Ebrard, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. Wm. Stuart, B.A., and Rev. J. Macpherson, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

"The Great Means of Salvation and of Perfection." By St. Alphonsus Liguori. Edited by E. Grimm, C.S.S.R. "The Centenary Edition." Vol. III. "The Mysteries of the Faith." Same Edition, Vol. IV. "The Incarnation." New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. London: R. Washbourne; Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

"Addresses Delivered on Various Occasions." By the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

"Renaissance in Italy.—The Catholic Reaction." Two vols. By John Addington Symonds. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

"Sir Philip Sidney." By J. A. Symonds. London: Macmillan & Co.

## Record of Roman Documents.

**CANONS' VESTMENTS.**—A decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated March 15, 1608, having declared that there should be in Cathedral Chapters a distinction of vestments, even though not of Prebends, the same Congregation, in virtue of a custom of 300 years' standing, allows all the Canons of the Chapter of Pavia to wear copes at Pontifical functions. In such vestments, cloth of silver will stand for white, cloth of gold for white and red only. (*S. R. C.*, Nov. 20, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 14, 1886.

**DIVORCE.**—A decree has been issued by the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition declaring that no public official can pronounce sentence of divorce where the marriage has been validly consecrated by the Church. The magistrate cannot pronounce it; the syndic or mayor, after the legal promulgation, cannot pronounce it, even though he intends merely the civil effects of the sentence; nor can the syndic or mayor unite anew the divorced party whilst the other party be living. (*S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. Cong.*, May 27, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 28, 1886.

**FACULTY FOR DUPLICATION** refused at Rome, the present number of Masses in the town being deemed sufficient for the wants of its inhabitants. *Vid. Tablet*, July 24, 1886.

**FIVE SUNDAYS** in honour of S. Francis of Assisi.—The same privileges granted as for the Sundays of S. Aloysius Gonzaga. The five Sundays may be the five immediately preceding the Feast of the Sacred Stigmata (Sept. 17), or any five Sundays at choice, if only consecutive. Plenary indulgence for each of the Sundays on the usual conditions of Confession, Communion, and prayer for the Pope's intention. This indulgence extended to the faithful throughout the whole world, Nov. 21, 1885. *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 26, 1886.

**FORMULA** to be used by Secular Tertiaries and Congregations of Simple Vows in giving the General Absolution or Blessing, with plenary indulgence.—According to a late decree in the case of the Society of Sisters of the Most Blessed Trinity, the formula to be used is the second one, commencing thus: "Intret oratio mea in conspectu tuo," &c. (*S. Cong. Indulg.*, Dec. 19, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 7, 1886.

**HEIRS** bound to make good a Bishop's agreement with Religious.—A Bishop of Bergamo, having agreed to build a church for some religious, dies as soon as the building is completed, some £2,400 still remaining as a debt upon it. A Canon who inherited some moneys from him is bound over by the Sacred Congregation of the Council to bear part of the burden. (*S. C. C.*, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 6, 1886.

**HOLIDAYS OF OBLIGATION** in the United States.—Up to the end of 1885, the different States and Dioceses varied in their observance of Feasts, some keeping five, others nine, and even more. A

decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites fixes the following six to be observed through all the States:—The Immaculate Conception, the Nativity or Christmas-day, the Circumcision, the Ascension, the Assumption, All Saints. (Dec. 25, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 4, 1886.

**INDULGENCES.**—Three hundred days' indulgence granted to those who with contrite heart recite the Litany of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, provided they use the authorized version; it can be gained only once a day, and is applicable to the souls in purgatory. (*S. Cong. Ind.*, Jan. 16, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 26, 1886.

**INDULGENCES ATTACHED TO CHURCHES.**—A new church, replacing an old one, and built some thirty paces or a stone's throw from the original spot, retains the indulgences of the old church. (*S. C. Indulg.*, March 29, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 16, 1886.

**INDULGENCES, FRANCISCAN.**—Franciscan Tertiaries must visit a Church of the Order of Friars Minor in order to gain the indulgences attached to churches of the Order; a visit to their own parish church will not suffice, unless a special indult be obtained. (*S. C. R.*, June 12, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 30, 1886.

**IRREGULARITY.**—Dispensation from Irregularity granted *ad cautelam* in the case of a cleric who suffered from great weakness in the legs, evidence showing that he would be able to say Mass without either danger or disedification. (*S. C. C.*, May 8, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 27, 1886.

**MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS** during the vacancy of a See.—Dispensations granted to a Vicar Capitular cannot be carried out by the new Bishop, unless addressed in the first instance to the Ordinary; nor can the Vicar Capitular carry out dispensations, even though granted to himself as Vicar Capitular, after the new appointment to the See. (*S. Pœnit.*, April 3, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 2, 1886.

**MISSA PRO POPULO.**—The parish priests of Ireland, according to Tridentine law, are bound to say Mass in their own churches and for their own people on Sundays and Feasts of Precept. A rescript exempting them from this obligation on the Feasts of Precept for ten years has been received by the Archbishop of Dublin. During the previous ten years they enjoyed a similar exemption. *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Nov. 1886.

**OFFICES** for the fifth and sixth Sundays after Epiphany.—How to regulate these Offices when they cannot be kept on their own days, nor on any Sunday before Advent. (*S. C. R.*, June 2, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 20, 1886.

**SPAIN, CHAPLAINCY OF THE ROYAL PALACE OF, &c.**—A Pontifical Brief makes regulations for the above Chaplaincy, as also for the Vicariate-General of the Almonry, and of the Patriarchate of the West Indies. All the ancient privileges conceded by Benedict XIV. to Chaplains of the Royal Palace are confirmed. *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 26, 1885.







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